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**LIFE AND CAMPAIGNS**  
**OF**  
**NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE,**  
**EMPEROR OF FRANCE, &c.**

**BY**  
**HENRY DOGGETT.**



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**1832.**

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*Clerk of the district.*

## PREFACE.



**W**E present to the public in this volume a brief history of Napoleon Buonaparte. It contains in a small compass the momentous events of the period between the years 1791 and 1815, in which this extraordinary man guided the destiny of nations, and decided the fate of battles. There being no room for embellishments, the facts are given in as plain language as possible, to give a summary and comprehensive view of those battles and splendid victories,

whereby this great chief, subduing his numerous and powerful foes and astonishing the most distant nations of the globe, will be ranked as a warrior and a conqueror with Alexander, Hanibal and Julius Cæsar by all succeeding ages.

*Baltimore, September, 1832.*

# LIFE AND CAMPAIGNS OF NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE.



## CHAPTER I.

*Family of Buonaparte—his early habits—entrance into the Army—career until the commencement of his active life.*

ALTHOUGH the fame of NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE was so brilliant and extraordinary, that it could receive no polish from his having possessed the most noble descent, the reader of his life will ever desire to know something about the family of so illustrious a man. It is true, as he was heard to declare, that his renown was peculiarly *his own*. But still, it may be proper, ere we treat of his personal history, to say a word or two, respecting the relatives of a general, whose military reputation is unequalled in the accurate annals of mankind. Napoleon Buonaparte, then, was the *second* son of Charles Buonaparte, a lawyer of Corsica, and said to have been the principal descendant of a family, formerly exiled from Tuscany on political grounds. The father of the Emperor is stated to have possessed a handsome personal appearance, considerable eloquence, and that general vigour of intellect, which he transmitted in so remarkable a degree to his distinguished son. His mother was Letitia Ramolini, one of the most beautiful women in Corsica, and a person, whose strong con-



stitution and mind were evident through the vicissitudes of a long and eventful life. Though she lost her husband in the prime of life, she had already borne him thirteen children, eight of whom were living at the decease of their father. The eldest of these was Joseph, successively king of Naples and Spain; but now a resident in the United States. The second, as we have intimated, was NAPOLEON himself. The third was Lucien; a man, whose intellect, though inferior to that of his Imperial relation, was of a very superior order. The fourth son was Louis, king of Holland: and the fifth, Jerome, well known in America and afterwards king of Westphalia. Besides these, there were three daughters, who obtained high rank when their brother became the arbiter of nations and the disposer of realms.

The subject of our memoir was born at Ajaccio, in Corsica, on the 15th of August, 1769, that city being at the time the residence of his parents. As we have before remarked, his mother was of a very strong constitution, and, it is said, that having gone abroad on the day of his birth, she was compelled suddenly to return; and the future conqueror of nations was ushered into existence upon a temporary couch, that was covered with tapestry representing the heroes of Homer's immortal verses. Little is known of his infantile years, but it is naturally concluded, that he had the hardy yet simple education, usual to persons of the time in his situation. But, it is probable, the world might never have become acquainted with this, its greatest warrior, had it not been for the interest he excited in the breast of the



Count de Marbœuff, governor of Corsica. That interest induced the Count to procure for our young aspirant the situation of a student in the Military School of Brienne, then maintained at the Royal expense, for the education of youths who were intended for the engineer or artillery department. The studies, here presented to the genius of the future sovereign of France, appear to have been such as exactly suited the bias of his mind. It is therefore by no means surprising that he made so rapid a progress, as to secure the marked approbation of his scientific instructors. And, in fact, he laid in that copious stock of mathematical knowledge which so frequently staid him in good stead, during his subsequent eventful career.

Napoleon is represented as having appeared to his companions a youth, little addicted to the pleasures, which are common to the age. Nothing seemed to delight him so much as to make his amusements subservient to his instruction; and on all occasions, where circumstances permitted the exhibition, he appears to have displayed that military turn which seems to have been the natural inclination of his mind. Thus, it is said, upon one occasion, he exercised the influence, he appears to have possessed over his companions, in inducing them to construct a fortress *in the snow*. This juvenile fortification is stated to have exhibited a dawning of that great skill which afterwards astonished the world. Be this however as it may, his acquirements were such as to obtain for their possessor very early notice; since we find that, in 1783, though only fourteen years of age, he was re-

commended by the inspector of the Military colleges to be sent to Paris, in order to complete his education in the general school, established in that city. Thus, at this early age, we perceive our hero transferred from a provincial town to the future capital of his grandeur and his power. And there he attracted the same attention which had attended him at Brienne; being, among other celebrated society, admitted to the literary meetings of the Abbé Reynal. Numerous anecdotes are told of him, relating to this period of his life; but as many of them rest on very slight foundation, and as our limits will not permit any great deviation from the thread of his certain history, we shall hasten to the period, when his arrival at manhood enabled him to commence a career that is unparalleled in the annals of mankind. It may however be proper to remark that, in his seventeenth year, he received his first commission, (being that of second lieutenant), in a regiment of artillery; and, almost immediately afterwards, he was promoted to the rank of first lieutenant in the corps, quartered at Valance. Here he mingled with society more than he had been accustomed to do; mixed in the public amusements; and displayed those powers of pleasing which distinguished him, when in a more elevated post. His handsome and intelligent features, with his active, but slight figure, enabling him to appear to the greater advantage. And, on the whole, he appears at this time to have been considered a young man of superior information and striking address.

But sterner times were rapidly approaching; and,

as he rose to manhood, the surprising events, occurring around him, were calculated to take off his attention from amusement and personal indulgence, and to fix it upon those momentous considerations which finally elicited all the genius of his extended intellect. Corsica, the place of his birth, had become opposed to France, under her republican and anarchical government; and the noted Paoli with the larger portion of its inhabitants were endeavouring to resist the infection of Jacobinism, so prevalent at the time. This caused that celebrated individual to be denounced in the Convention, at Paris; and an expedition was sent to reduce the island, and to bring its inhabitants to subjection and punishment. Buonaparte, who happened to be in Corsica, at the time, upon leave of absence from his regiment, did not hesitate in siding with the invaders; although he had previously been upon friendly terms with Paoli himself. So that his first entrance upon actual service was in the civil wars of the island, where he was born; and on the side of his adopted, in preference to that of his native land. The party of Paoli, assisted by the English, became however too strong to be resisted at the time; and Corsica therefore was no longer a safe or convenient residence for the Buonaparte family. Indeed Napoleon and Lucien had taken so active a party, as to be banished from the island. Therefore, Madame Buonaparte with the rest of the family, proceeded to Nice, and thence to Marseilles; where they are reported to have suffered considerable distress, till the bettered prospects of their fortunate relative enabled him to afford them a timely relief.

## CHAPTER II.

*Siege of Toulon—Buonaparte commands the artillery and conquers the place—joins the army in Italy, but being superseded on the fall of Robespierre he returns to Paris to seek employment—difficulties of the government—insurrection of the people in the Capital, who are put down by Buonaparte in consequence of which he receives the command of the army in Italy.*

BEFORE we continue our account of the career of Buonaparte, we must briefly advert to the state of France, during the period at which we are arrived. Disgusted with the proceedings of the Convention which had usurped all power, since the execution of the king, several sections of the country had risen against the government. Tired with what appeared the ceaseless anarchy of the Republican administration, and opposed to the cruel butcheries which had been carried on in the name of liberty, they declared in favour of the King and the Constitution of 1791. While the inhabitants of Toulon, going still further than those of Lyons and Marseilles, actually invited the English and Spaniards, whose fleets were cruising off the town, to take possession of it in the name of Louis. So daring an instance of rebellion, could hardly be expected to pass without signal vengeance;



and accordingly the Republican army, under general Cartaux, was ordered to reduce and punish the refractory town. But so little was the skill exhibited in the attack, that, though great disunion prevailed among the defenders, fears were entertained lest the capture of the place should be retarded, until the increasing discontent of the surrounding country should compel the besiegers to retire. At this moment, however, the arrival of Buonaparte, who had just been appointed commander of the artillery, quickly changed the face of affairs. Perceiving at a glance the want of talent, evinced in the attack, he placed before the commander-in-chief a scheme of operations, which he deemed necessary to the capture of the city. And having at last received permission to follow his own plans, from general Dugommier (who had superseded Cartaux), he soon demonstrated both his own skill and the want of it in those, who had preceded him in the conduct of the siege. The English commander, general O'Hara, endeavoured in vain to impede his operations by a vigorous sally; attempting at the head of 3000 men to storm the batteries which were rapidly demolishing the defences of the place. Nothing could withstand the bravery of the Republican forces, directed as they now were by a genius, before whom the oldest commanders in Europe were shortly destined to quail. The English forces were repulsed with great slaughter; and general O'Hara himself, being wounded, remained a prisoner in the hands of the French. Soon after the repulse of the besieged, General Dugommier and Buonaparte determined to assault fort Mulgrave; the

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possession of which, the latter considered to be equivalent to the capture of the city. After a determined resistance, they succeeded in obtaining possession of the disputed fort, when, agreeably to the opinion of the artillery commander, its capture occasioned the English to abandon the town, which was immediately entered by the victorious Republicans.

During these operations, the bravery of Napoleon was no less conspicuous than his skill. He received a desperate bayonet wound in the thigh, during the sally which was so vigorously repulsed; and while the bombardment of fort Mulgrave was progressing, a soldier being killed at one of the guns, he immediately snatched the ramrod from the hands of the dying man and fired the gun himself, in order to encourage the men, who appeared paralyzed by the destructive fire of the foe. This feat caused him to imbibe a cutaneous disorder, which reproduced itself several times in his after-life; serving at once as a memento of his personal bravery and of one of the first actions in his military career. At the termination of the siege, reward awaited him in the shape of promotion; having been strongly recommended to the Convention by the veteran Dugommier, who frankly acknowledged that the chief merit of the affair rested with him.

But a short time elapsed, after the capture of Toulon, ere the subject of our memoir joined the army, then in Italy; where his advice and assistance enabled the Republican forces to obtain very distinguished success. The remainder of the year (1794), however, presented few opportunities for the exercise of

his talents. Yet he did not fail to embrace all that came within his reach; and, in the absence of more stirring events, he managed to procure that accurate knowledge of the country, which he turned to so good an account, at a subsequent period. The fall of Robespierre, whose brother seems to have been a sort of patron to Napoleon, tended to check his career, and rendered his situation very unpleasant if not critical. He was superseded in his command and, for a time, actually placed under arrest; but being relieved by the interest of Salicetti, his countryman, he proceeded to Marseilles, in a state, not well calculated either to raise his own spirits or those of his family, who were resident there at the time.

In May, 1795, he proceeded to Paris to solicit employment in his profession. Before however we come to an account of his success, we must mention a few circumstances, in the situation of the public affairs, that mainly contributed to the fulfilment of his desires. The Convention, as we have intimated already, had become very unpopular in many sections of France. A fresh instance of their insincerity and baseness, served to add Paris itself to the number of their foes. In order to remove in some degree the difficulties if not dangers of their situation, this body had adopted a *new Constitution*; by which the legislative power was to be exercised by *two* houses, instead of one as had hitherto been the case. But fearing that if a *free* election were to be allowed, the members of their own chamber might not only be excluded from the new assemblies, but be actually punished for some of their former proceedings, they

inserted a clause in the Constitution, rendering it an imperative part of the arrangement, that, at least, two-thirds of their present members should form a portion of the Houses, to be elected under the said law. So glaring a usurpation of power was highly distasteful to the inhabitants of the Metropolis. They consequently prepared to resist by arms the tyrannical proceeding; and General Danican, at the head of 30,000 National Guards, was appointed to besiege the Convention itself, in the palace where they held their sittings, and which had been taken from the king, in a preceding part of the Revolutionary struggle. The representatives of the nation, as they called themselves, had not however neglected their own defence. Having collected some thousands of regular troops and some irregular partisans, they prevailed upon Buonaparte to undertake the somewhat dangerous affair of withstanding the people relying on his skill, well knowing that *his* skill would enable him to make the best use of the 200 cannon, they had at their disposal. Placing his artillery in the most effective situations, and knowing the enemy had little or none of this description of arms, the Corsican awaited the approach of the civic force with confidence if not with ease. A second time engaged in civil war, Napoleon was not destined a second time to become the victim of its power. Although the National Guards were greatly superior in numbers to the forces under his command, his powerful artillery gave him a decided advantage. A dreadful carnage was effected by the showers of grape and canister-shot which he caused to be poured upon the assailing mi-



titia; and, though these civic soldiers exhibited much courage and actually attempted to carry his guns by main force, they were ultimately repulsed with great slaughter. Several hundred were killed in this fierce engagement, which terminated however in confirming the power of the Convention. So signal a victory could but augment the fame of the commander, who had obtained so desirable a success. He was soon after therefore made second in command of the army of the *Interior*; Barras, who had recommended him for his late employment, retaining the command in chief.

It was however but a short period before this latter general resigned his post; and Buonaparte rose to the head of the army, stationed in Paris. During the exercise of his functions in this capacity, he had frequently to suppress the risings of the populace, and on one occasion; a somewhat ludicrous circumstance is said to have occurred. There being a dearth of bread, a large mob had collected, which Buonaparte endeavoured to dissolve by expostulatory addresses. But all his attempts were rendered unavailing by a stout woman, who, told the people not to mind those coxcombs in epaulettes, since it was indifferent to them, if the population starved, so that they could feed and get fat. Napoleon, hearing this speech turned to the bloated virago and said, "look at me, good woman" (he being at the time as thin as a shadow) "and tell us now, which is the fatter of the two." This turned the laugh against the portly amazon, and the rabble dispersed, for the moment, amid shouts of applause.

These scenes were nevertheless too bounded for the

genius of the future conqueror of Europe. And his marriage with Madame Beauharnois, which took place on the 9th of March, 1796, enabled him, through her influence, to obtain an opportunity, better calculated for the display of his incomparable military skill.

This was the command of the armies in *Italy*, to which he departed soon after his new alliance; and where he carried on the celebrated campaign we shall endeavour to describe in the succeeding chapters.

### CHAPTER III.

#### *Campaign in Piedmont, 1796.*

THE positions, occupied by the French army on the arrival of Buonaparte, did not vary materially from what they were, when he had been superseded in the command. Much fighting had indeed taken place between it and its opponents, since that period; but, the contests on the whole, produced little effect, and each party had in general maintained, or recovered its ground. This however was now quickly to be changed. The Austrian and Sardinian army was commanded by a veteran of seventy-five, but his skill and experience were by no means a match for the untiring activity and admirable combinations of the leader of the French. Napoleon, though only twenty-six years of age, adopted a system of tactics of which indeed he may fairly be considered the chief inventor. This new scheme of operations consisted in such combination and arrangement of his forces, as enabled him on all occasions to command a superiority of forces, *on a necessary point*, however inferior he might be upon the whole to the army opposed. To effect this, required, indeed, a nicety of calculation and an undeviating correctness of movement, superior to what had been heretofore deemed possible for such large masses. But the edu-

cation and intellect of the future Emperor were exactly calculated to insure these indispensable premises. It is true, the execution of his designs rendered it necessary for his army to dispense with the baggage and hospitals, formerly considered essential in a campaign, and thereby greatly increased the loss of life, other than what was required on the field of battle; but he deemed these evils to be more than counterbalanced by the greatness of the results. Nor can this opinion be fairly controverted, if we consider the matter with extended views. The shortness of the campaign, or at least the decisiveness of it, made up for the unusual loss; while the glory, acquired by the survivors, indemnified them for the great inconveniences, they had experienced, during the operations. The more especially was such a plan suited to an army, fighting for renown; and which, if it obtained it, was ever certain of abundance of recruits. In fact this novel arrangement more than answered all the expectations, which could have been entertained in reference to it; since it enabled the French armies to proceed from victory to victory, until their enemies, taught by successive defeats, at length learned to conquer in their turn.

At the time, indeed, of which we are now treating, the arrangements of Napoleon were crowned with triumphant success. Beaulieu, the Austrian chief, had divided his army into three divisions, the better, as he supposed, to defend the defiles through which he expected his enemy to advance. But Buonaparte, instead of going over the Alps or attempting to penetrate the passes of the mountains, as had been

usual with invaders of Italy, determined to *turn* their southern extremity, and thus expose the flank of the allies to an overwhelming superiority. It is true, the Genoese territory intervened between the enemy and the place where Napoleon found a passage, and Genoa was neutral in the war now commencing between Austria and France. The integrity of their territory would therefore have been prevented the success of the Corsican's manœuvre, and on former occasions such a barrier would have been sufficient to stay the advance of an invading general in that direction. But Beaulieu, however mistaken on other occasions, did not believe that such an obstacle would withstand the commander of the French. He accordingly hastened to change his positions and attempt to defend Genoa from the clutches of the advancing enemy.

This attempt brought on the battle of *Monte Notte*, being the first field-engagement in which the subject of our memoir made his appearance. It was fought on the 12th of April 1796, and exhibited a fine specimen of the plan, whereby two years after, and on the same day, Napoleon succeeded in baffling the most celebrated general of the Austrian government. On the day previous to the battle, he suddenly concentrated his divisions, under Augereau and Massena, and then actually overthrew the centre of the allies, by an irresistible superiority, while their two wings remained entirely ignorant that a battle had taken place. D'Argenteau did all in his power to defend himself, till the arrival of his forces; but nothing could withstand the fire of



the French when coupled with the superiority which Napoleon thought proper to secure.

As soon as they learned the misfortunes of D'Argenteau at *Monte Notte*, the Sardinian and Austrian commanders hastened to retreat upon Dego, hoping to maintain themselves in that position till reinforcements should enable them to recover their lost ground. The French Achilles was however thundering in their rear; and he soon convinced them they were to be allowed no opportunity either for recruiting or repose. On the contrary, he pursued their retreating columns with unwonted celerity; and coming up with those under general Colli, the Sardinian chief, the division of Augereau overthrew them with great slaughter, and separated a body of 2000 soldiers from the remainder of the army. These, commanded by general Provera, retired to a neighbouring castle, where they successfully defended themselves against repeated attacks, until the failure of Colli to relieve them, forced them to surrender to the French.

While Augereau was thus defeating the Sardinian army in so signal a manner, Massena carried the position occupied by the Austrian chief; so that the battle of Dego served to separate entirely the allied columns. The Sardinians retired westward, to cover Turin; while it appeared to be the object of the Austrians to defend the approaches to the territories of Milan. Their united loss, in this engagement, was rated a 6000 men, 30 cannon, and much baggage. Leaving sufficient forces to keep Beaulieu in check, Buonaparte hastened in pursuit of Colli; and the columns, led by Massena and Serrurier, overtaking his army at

*Mondovì*, they defeated him with much loss, although the Sardinian troops displayed unwonted bravery in the affair. In this battle, Murat exhibited the dawning of that daring intrepidity, which renders his name so famous as a commander of horse. He defeated all the attempts of the Piedmontese cavalry to renew the combat; and, at the conclusion of the battle, Colli was compelled to give over all thoughts of being able to defend the capital of his native land.

Thus in the course of a campaign, scarcely a month in duration, Napoleon had gained *three* battles, completely separated the opposing armies, and compelled the king of Sardinia to sue for peace. This was granted him on terms, so humiliating, that the mortification, he endured, served to bring him to the tomb in a very short time. For, this father-in-law of the pretender to the throne of France (afterwards Louis the 18th) was compelled to dismiss all emigrants from his dominions, and to surrender his principal fortresses into the hands of the French.

## CHAPTER IV.

*Passage of the Po—battle at Fombio—passage of the Adda and battle of Lodi—capture of Milan—battle of Borghetto—peace with Naples—and renewed attempts of the Austrians under Wurmser.*

SCARCELY had the Republican general concluded the peace, mentioned at the close of the last chapter, before he put his forces in march against the Austrians, who, as we have stated, had retired towards Lombardy, in order to cover Milan. Before it was possible to reach that city, it became necessary to pass the Po, a rapid and broad river, and the passages of which were defended by general Beaulieu, who had received strong reinforcements. On this, however, as on former occasions, Buonaparte proved himself an overmatch in skill for the brave old German to whom he was opposed. While the latter had been induced to suppose Napoleon would attempt a passage, at Valenza, that crafty commander actually crossed the river more than 50 miles below the point, where his enemy was anticipating an attack. Informed, but too late, of the stratagem, by which the French leader had deceived him, and thus performed one of the most critical operations an army can execute—the passage of a large river, Beaulieu pushed forward his advanced guard, under general Liptay, towards the point that



was menaced by the foe. Nor were the latter less eager to engage. By no means wishing to risk a battle with such a river as the Po immediately in his rear, the French commander was hastening forward to gain room for those extended manœuvres, by which, he hoped, to make up for his inferiority of force. The opposing divisions met, therefore, on the 8th of May, at *Fombio*; in which town the Austrians having thrown themselves, were endeavouring to raise as many fortifications as circumstances would permit. But their determined resistance was all in vain. Expecting Beaulieu to arrive to their assistance, they fought with great gallantry; but were ultimately unable to resist the charges of the French battalions; who were encouraged by the daring that is engendered through frequent success. Thus Liptay's division was totally routed, the remains of it being saved for a time only, by entering the fortress of Pizzighitone.

His vanguard being thus almost annihilated, general Beaulieu retired upon *Lodi*; where he hoped successfully to defend the passage of the Adda; and to cover Milan, the object of all his attempts. Lodi was a town containing about 12,000 inhabitants; and having a wooden bridge, near 500 feet in length, over the river, we have just named. Beaulieu having concluded, and for once correctly, that this would be the place where Buonaparte would seek a passage, had constructed such fortifications, on the eastern side of the bridge, as he deemed sufficient for its defence. These entrenchments, and the town itself, were occupied by about 10,000 men, under his own immediate command. The rest of his forces had retired

to Milan, or were stationed at Cassano, a town, that like Lodi, was situated upon the Adda. Upon the 10th of May, Buonaparte approached this celebrated scene of his personal bravery. Having driven in the Austrian rear-guard, the French quickly gained possession of that part of the town which was on the western side of the stream. On retiring, the Austrians had neglected to destroy the bridge, probably deeming their batteries amply sufficient to prevent the passage of the foe. Nor can they be charged with great presumption, when we learn that the lane, presented by the bridge, was swept by 30 pieces of cannon, besides the musquetry of the 10,000 combatants who were stationed for its defence. Napoleon however shortly-taught them the error of their calculation. Bringing up a number of cannon, equal to the foe, he replied to their vigorous fire by a discharge as fierce as their own. He even exposed himself, amid the greatest severity of the cannonade, in order to station two pieces of artillery in such a position as, that their fire should prevent the enemy from undermining, or otherwise destroying, the bridge. In the mean while, he had despatched his cavalry to attempt a passage somewhat below; and, as soon as they effected this difficult operation and began to put the Austrians into consternation by their approach, he immediately threw a column of 4000 men, whom he had hitherto sheltered from the fire of the enemy in the adjoining houses, directly upon the bridge. The word was given to advance; and the French grenadiers rushed forward amid shouts of *Vive la Republique!* Their appearance, however, upon this important and decisive

point, served but as a signal for redoubled showers of grape and musquetry from their determined foe. The column wavered in its advance; and was on the point of flying, when Berthier and Massena, Corvini and D'Allemagne (as some accounts add) Buonaparte himself hastened to their head; and the whole mass pressing forward with resistless impetuosity, the passage of the Adda and the battle of Lodi were terminated at once.

After this decisive defeat, Beaulieu retreated with great precipitation. The governor of Lombardy (brother to the Emperor of Germany) hastily quitted Milan; into which city Buonaparte made a public entry, on the 14th of May, amid the real or pretended gratulations of its numerous population.

Such splendid triumphs appear to have excited the jealousy of the Directory, who then governed France, much as they deserved or received the approbation of the people and the troops. It was, therefore, proposed to divide the army, serving in Italy; the one part, under *Buonaparte*, being destined to pursue the Austrians; while the other was to undertake the siege of Mantua commanded by *Kellerman*. A plan so inimical to his interests, or his ambition, could scarcely meet the approbation of the successful Napoleon. He consequently sent in his resignation; and the Directory, not daring to supersede such an officer, allowed him to continue commander-in-chief.

Nor was it long before Buonaparte proved by new victories, how well he was calculated to do honour to the situation. Having suppressed some insurrectionary movements in his rear, he proceeded to attack his

old competitor, who was now attempting to defend the line of the Mincio, as he had formerly tried to maintain those of the Adda and the Po. Again did he deceive the unwary German. For, while Beaulieu was expecting his right to be attacked, he suddenly found his centre destroyed, at *Borghetto*, where was a bridge over the river, and which, like that of Lodi, was carried by the impetuosity of the French. So that once more the Austrian commander was compelled to seek safety in flight, leaving many prisoners and spoil in the hands of the foe. But while the French columns which had passed the Mincio, were pressing forward in pursuit of Beaulieu, Buonaparte, who remained in the rear, was very near being captured by Sebbottendorf who commanded the Austrian left wing. That officer, hearing the fire of the cannon, occasioned by the action at Borghetto, was hastening to support his friends, when his advanced cavalry suddenly entered the village where Napoleon was taking a repast. The French general managed however to get away, and the opportunity of thus staying his wonderful career had for ever past. So narrow an escape induced Buonaparte to form a corps, whose particular duty it was to attend the commander-in-chief, and which led afterwards to the formation of the Imperial guard.

The passage of the Mincio served to drive the Austrians within the frontier of the Tyrol; and, with the exception of *Mantua*, a vast and strong fortress, with some towns of lesser consequence they might now be considered as expelled from Italy. Their conqueror accordingly returned to Milan to reap, or to survey,



the consequences of his success. Among the first of these was the defection of the king of Naples. Alarmed by the losses which his troops had sustained in the late actions upon the Mincio, he speedily concluded a peace with the French Republic, and withdrew his auxiliary contingent from the Austrian army. The Pope and the Arch-Duke of Tuscany, with several of the minor powers, were also compelled to seek and purchase the alliance of the French. So that in a period, inconceivably short for such a result, the Austrian dominions, and indeed almost all other dominions except that of the French, had ceased in Italy. But *Mantua* continued to resist. And to relieve this last portion of their Italian dominions, now became the anxious consideration of the Imperial government. Beaulieu was therefore superseded by Wurmser, who, at the time, was thought to be the best general in the Austrian army. This officer was ordered to traverse the Tyrol with 30,000 men, drafted from the forces on the Rhine. When having picked up the numerous recruits, ever afforded by the war-like population of that country, he was to join the remains of the army, lately under Beaulieu, and hasten to raise the siege of Mantua, now prosecuted by the French. His success, or failure, will appear in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER V.

*Battle of Castiglione—Roveredo—Bassano—fourth attempt of the Austrians under Alvinzi—Battles of Arcola—cessation of the campaign.*

BUONAPARTE pressed the siege of Mantua with his usual vigour, but his efforts were in vain. Having been able to procure few, or no, reinforcements from France, and learning that Wurmser was approaching with forces, more than double his own, he determined to raise the siege and make preparations to meet the advancing foe.

Wurmser, who entertained great confidence in his superior numbers, formed his arrangements for surrounding his opponent; a design that caused his divisions to be separated in a manner which led to their utter defeat. For no sooner did his eagle-eyed enemy perceive the chasm, allowed to intervene between the right wing of the Austrians and the rest of their army, than he resolved to cut off the former before it could gain assistance from its separated companions. Leaving therefore a strong rear-guard to defend the line of the Mincio, when Wurmser should advance to the assistance of his right, he hastened to attack the latter, commanded by Quasdonowich. In this manœuvre he perfectly succeeded. Quasdonowich was defeated and driven back into the Tyrol; thereby allowing Buonaparte to proceed to the aid of his rear, now assailed and partial-

ly beaten by the Austrian commander-in-chief. This general had entered Mantua on the raising of the siege, and was pressing forward to the assistance of that portion of his army, attacked by Napoleon himself. But, as usual, the French general was too quick for the veteran German. Having already accomplished, as we have seen, his purpose against Quasdonowich, he was prepared to meet Wurmser on his advance. The two armies encountered each other at *Castiglione*; when the Austrians experienced a signal defeat, their forces being driven from the field in irretrievable disorder. Their loss was estimated at 40,000 men; a loss greatly aggravated by the discouragement, occasioned by so fatal an issue. Massena and Augereau particularly distinguished themselves in this engagement; and when titles became fashionable among French generals, the latter took his from the scene of this celebrated victory.

After the battle, the French resumed the siege, or rather the blockade, of Mantua. For, in fact, as they stood in need of heavy artillery and were moreover expecting renewed exertions, on the part of Wurmser, they confined their present exertions to the stoppage of supplies. Indeed the Austrian general, being once more strongly reinforced, determined to make yet another attempt for the relief of a fortress, which had already given rise to so much bloody dispute. Leaving therefore 20,000 men, under Davidowich, to cover the Tyrol, he proceeded himself with thirty thousand to execute the purpose designed. His reason for thus separating his army, was a desire to prevent the advance of the French

into the Tyrol, as their appearance in that country would materially increase the consternation, already existing in the Imperial dominions on account of the threatening position of Jourdan and Moreau, who commanded the armies on the Rhine. But laudable as might be the intention of Wurmser, the effect of his arrangement was fatal in the extreme. Since Napoleon, who instantly discerned the advantage it afforded him, proceeded forthwith to attack Davidowich, stationed at *Roveredo*. The position, occupied by that general, was exceedingly strong, having several points that offered rallying places for troops who were hard pressed by an enemy. Still he was unable to withstand a foe, whom successive victories had rendered invincible. His army was soon driven from their entrenchments, and even from the fortified position of *Calliano*, immediately in its rear; being finally compelled to quit the disputed posts in total disarray. Seven thousand prisoners and 15 cannon, taken by the French, bespoke the nature of their triumph; a triumph yet more apparent when, on the next day, Massena entered Trent, which for a long time had been the head-quarters of Wurmser himself.

After the defeat of Davidowich, it appeared likely to the Austrian commander-in-chief that Buonaparte, instead of attending to him, would press forwards towards *Innsbruck*, in order to communicate with Jourdan and Moreau, who were already far advanced into the German states. Acting on this supposition, Wurmser continued his march against the French, who had been left by Napoleon to maintain



the blockade of Mantua. Despatching general Mezaros to the relief of that fortress, he posted his own forces at Bassano to cover the operation. But in forming this plan he was again fatally deceived. For as soon as Buonaparte became acquainted with it, he determined to attack Wurmser himself, while separated from the division of general Mezaros. To do this required indeed unheard of exertions on the part of the soldiers, and equal skill in the calculations of their chief. Victory depended upon time, and well did Napoleon know how to employ it to the utmost advantage. Seconded by the enthusiasm of his troops, he marched upon *Bassano* with unexampled rapidity; on the 8th of September achieved a victory, at that place, which at least was equal to any, he had previously obtained. The Austrian artillery, baggage, and wagons were nearly all captured, while the troops, not taken by the French, were scattered over the country in detached bodies. Wurmser, who narrowly escaped from the field of battle, joined Mezaros; and finding his retreat toward the Imperial territory cut off, he resolved to throw himself into Mantua, at the head of the 16,000 men whom he managed to collect after his disastrous defeat.

His march towards that city was opposed by several detachments of the French army; but actuated by the vigour of despair, he eluded, or destroyed, the opposing forces, and finally succeeded in accomplishing his design. In fact, he was near capturing his conqueror, during his progress; Buonaparte escaping from an unexpected rencounter with the

Austrian Field-marshal merely by the swiftness of his horse.

Such was the result of Wurmser's second attempt for the relief of Mantua. And it was a proud, yet true, vaunt which the Minister at War was enabled to make, when he presented the aid-de-camp of Napoleon to the Directory of France. "In the course of one campaign," said he, "Italy has been conquered—three large armies have been totally destroyed—40,000 prisoners with 50 stand of colours attest the triumphs of our arms: while the whole is rendered yet more surprising, as well as satisfactory, by the consideration, that it has all been effected by an army, never exceeding 30,000 men, and under a commander, scarcely 26 years of age."

But successive and complete as had been the victories of the French, the Austrian government, according to its usual spirit of perseverance, resolved to make yet further efforts for the relief of Mantua. The Archduke Charles having beaten back the army, commanded by Jourdan and Moreau, the Aulic council ordered large reinforcements to proceed to Italy. While General Alvinzi, an officer of distinguished reputation and skill, was appointed to head this fresh attempt for the overthrow of Napoleon.

Nor did his efforts, on the whole, belie the reputation he possessed. In the engagements, that immediately followed his assumption of the command, the French armies were frequently beaten, and Buonaparte found it necessary to retreat to Verona; a strong position which enabled him to act on the defensive, or offensive, as circumstances required.

Before we notice the final issue of the campaign between Alvinzi and Napoleon, we must mention a characteristic anecdote of the manner by which the latter managed to regulate and excite the feelings of the army under his command. As we have stated, the French armies had not experienced their wonted success, since the appointment of Alvinzi to the head of the Austrian forces. In fact, they had been absolutely defeated, in some engagements with the divisions commanded by Davidowich. A result so unusual was attributed to the ill conduct of certain regiments; and Buonaparte determined to visit the alleged offences with pointed rebuke. The delinquent battalions were accordingly mustered in his presence; when he addressed them in the following manner. "Soldiers, you have displeased me. You are no longer French combatants. Let it be written on your colours—these are not of the army of Italy." Groans of sorrow announced the impression, made by this brief harangue. In spite of the military regulations, several old grenadiers, who were decorated with orders for past services, cried from the ranks, "General, we have been misrepresented; place us in the advance, and see yourself whether, or not, we deserve to belong to the army of Italy." The desired effect being produced, Napoleon addressed the troops in a more conciliatory manner, and these regiments particularly distinguished themselves during the rest of the campaign.

Various engagements quickly succeeded between Alvinzi, whose object was to relieve Mantua, and Buonaparte, who was striving to prevent it. Three

separate and fierce battles took place at *Arcola*, in which both parties exhibited great perseverance and courage. On the whole, therefore, no decisive results followed a series of contests, which, for daring, bravery, and skill have seldom been equalled in the annals of mankind. For though the Imperial commander failed in his attempt to assist the beleaguered fortress, Buonaparte also was unable to obtain any considerable success. Indeed that part of his army, opposed to Davidowich, had been constantly beaten. Both therefore of the commanders-in-chief thought it necessary to give breathing time to their gallant but exhausted forces; leaving the final settlement of their bloody dispute to a recruited army and other fields.

## CHAPTER VI.

*Battle of Rivoli—fall of Mantua—peace of Campo Formio—expedition to Egypt.*

BUT the calm, that succeeded the battles of Arco-la, was of no long duration. Austria, that seemed to cling to Italy as a drowning man grasps the object which comes within his expiring pressure, resolved once again to contest its possession with the French army. Alvinzi, at the head of 60,000 combatants, was therefore directed to resume the offensive against his brave and vigilant opponent.

Napoleon received an account of the new storm, intended to overwhelm him, from an intercepted despatch that was directed to Wurmser. Nor did he waste the information, so opportunely acquired; but hastened to render it subservient to the success of the campaign. With his accustomed activity and foresight, he anticipated the movements of the enemy, whom he entirely defeated, at *Rivoli*, on the 14th of January, 1797. On no occasion did this consummate general require, or exhibit, greater skill, than in this action with the veteran Alvinzi. And it is no mean praise to say, as we are amply justified in saying, of his noble soldiers, that they were well worthy of so excellent a chief.

But scarcely had Napoleon completed the defeat of his principal competitor, ere he learned that Provera, whose bravery has before elicited our notice, was on the point of relieving the fortress (Mantua),



to maintain and subdue which so many battles had been lately fought between the Austrian and French armies. Leaving, therefore, Massena and Murat to improve the victory of Rivoli, he hastened towards Mantua to frustrate the projects, intended for its aid. In order to assist the demonstration of Provera, the veteran Wurmser had made a sally from the town. Before however the designs of these brave, but unfortunate, generals could be accomplished, Buonaparte arrived with his victorious troops; and while the former was compelled to re-enter the fortress, Provera and all his division surrendered to the army of the indefatigable Napoleon.

After these glorious events, Mantua was compelled to submit through want of supplies; and the gallant Wurmser, like a noble animal which the hunters have subdued, was forced to give himself up to the hero, who had chased him from the extremity of Italy to this last strong-hold of Austrian dominion in that country.

Wurmser was taken, and the army of Alvinzi utterly routed and dispersed. But still the Imperial government seemed unwilling to abandon the disastrous struggle. The Archduke Charles, brother to the Emperor, and a successful commander against the French on the Rhine, was accordingly appointed to lead the sixth army, that, within the compass of a year, Austria had sent for the defence, or recovery, of Italy. Vain however were all his efforts for the attainment of these much coveted objects. Instead of freeing Italy, he was compelled to make a rapid retreat upon the very capital of his brother's

dominions; pursued by the young, but ever triumphant, general, before whom the veteran skill of Austria had been compelled to succumb. In fact, Napoleon was approaching Vienna itself, when the disasters and fears of the Austrians induced them to solicit an armistice, that soon afterwards terminated in the peace of *Cambré Formio*. By this treaty the Belgian provinces were ceded to France; that country being allowed to extend her frontier to the Rhine. The Venitian territories were divided between the two powers; Austria receiving the capital and a large portion of the neighbouring country, while the remainder was portioned out as it suited the interest, or the inclination, of the French republic.

After the termination of a war, so glorious as this had been to the armies of France—a war whereby Napoleon had secured the Revolutionary institutions of his country from all external danger—he might justly expect the most brilliant rewards. But if such were his anticipations, he must have been extremely disappointed. The Directory, jealous of his extraordinary popularity, did little to honour a man, who had done so much for the honour, safety, and glory of France. They even left him in the poverty, wherein the call of his distracted country had originally found him, but which, however inconvenient, was highly creditable to him, now that he was a conqueror of several nations, and had had at his disposal so many millions of the public money. The citizens of Paris, and the people in general, offered him indeed ample testimony of their deep regard;

the former changing the name of the street, where he resided, from Rue Chantierine to Rue des Victoires, as a mark of their respect. And the Institute of France, ever anxious to express its sense of distinguished merit, elected him a member, in the room of Carnot, who had left the country.

During the progress of the events, related in the late chapters, the war between France and England had been continually going on. And as the former country was now relieved from continental hostility, she seemed inclined to tempt the chances of an insular campaign. A large army was assembled on the Gallic shores, opposite to Britain; and it appeared as if the Conqueror of Italy was desirous of imitating his greatest rival in military fame, by attempting, like him, the subjection of that celebrated isle. But whether the prospect was less enticing, or the difficulties of the undertaking seemed more formidable, to Napoleon than to Cæsar, it is certain that the project was not persevered in by the modern hero. As, instead of gathering fresh laurels in Europe, he shortly proceeded to Africa; substituting an expedition to Egypt for a voyage to the Thames.

Our limits will not suffer us to follow with much minuteness the course of this useless and fatal expedition. It sailed from Toulon, on the 19th of May, 1798; and arriving off Malta, on the 10th of June, that strongly fortified island was given up to the French without any resistance. Leaving a garrison sufficient for its defence, Buonaparte quitted the place, in prosecution of his further designs; and on the 29th of the same month, landed in Egypt.

Before we notice his career; in the land of the Ptolemies, it may be proper to remark, that though nominally under the dominion of Turkey, Egypt was virtually governed, at this time, by the Mamelukes; a sort of military aristocracy, who were independent alike of the reputed sovereign and the people themselves. To crush these warlike despots, was the incipient determination of the chivalrous Napoleon. As soon therefore as he had secured Alexandria, he commenced his march towards Cairo for that purpose; and after a fatiguing passage across the desert, during which his army was much harassed by the enemy, he arrived at the foot of the Pyramids, those everlasting monuments of ages, of which they form the only remains. But at their base appeared Murad Bey (the chief of the Mamelukes), at the head of 30,000 men, ready to dispute with Buonaparte the possession of the capital.

On arriving in front of this large army, Napoleon made instant preparation for commencing the attack. He called upon his troops to consider, that from the summit of those lofty pyramids, twenty generations would witness their exploits. And having thus excited the enthusiasm, he was ever able to create, as well as to employ, he resolved to assault the superb cavalry, on which, he was well assured, the main hope of his opponent must necessarily depend. But in his design of beginning the action, he was anticipated by the foe. Murad Bey, foreseeing his intention, charged the French troops with great resolution, and with a persevering courage that deserved success. But resolution, and cour-



age, and despair were alike unavailing against the disciplined valour of the French forces. Formed into squares, the soldiers of Napoleon successfully resisted the utmost efforts of their gallant, but infuriated, enemies. Till the cross fire of the French, having destroyed the greater part of these celebrated horsemen, the remainder were drowned in the Nile, across which river they attempted to escape.

The destruction of the Mamelukes decided at once the fate of the battle, and of Egypt itself. The French remained, for a time, masters of the country, and their adventurous leader found himself at liberty to prosecute his designs upon the East. He accordingly proceeded into Syria, with the bulk of his army, and laid siege to *Acre*, a sea-port town, that was celebrated in the wars of the Crusaders, but now of little consideration and small strength. A British squadron was cruising in the bay; and Sir Sidney Smith, its commander, landed a part of his seamen to assist the Turkish garrison in the defence of the place. Napoleon carried on the siege with his usual activity; but being in want of heavy artillery, he was unable to make the desired impression. So that after wasting 60 days, and assaulting the breach 8 times with great loss, he was compelled to retire to Egypt, discomfited if not disgraced.

This disappointment, coupled with the information he received, respecting the situation of France, induced him to return to that country. After a tedious passage, he landed at Frejus, and, hastening forwards, arrived at Paris, October 16th, 1799.



## CHAPTER VII.

*Buonaparte becomes First Consul--writes to the king of England--assumes the command of the army against the Austrians--crosses the Alps--gains the battle of Marengo--returns to Paris.*

As our design is to offer a memoir of Buonaparte and not a history of France, we shall refer to the affairs of that country only so far as may be necessary to a due understanding of our account. It is, however, proper to remark here, that matters had become very unsettled in the Republic, during the absence of Napoleon on his Egyptian expedition. The territory in Italy, acquired by the brilliant victories of this general, during the former campaign, was nearly all lost; while the army, as well as the finances essential for its support, seemed hastening to inevitable decay. It became apparent, therefore, even before the return of Buonaparte, that a change of the administration must shortly take place.

Soon after his arrival in Paris, he consequently headed a fresh revolution in the government of the country. The Directory was superseded by the Consulate; Sieyes, Ducos, and Buonaparte being appointed to administer the executive authority. But as Napoleon was made *First Consul*, becoming in reality the sole possessor of power, the virtual termination of the Republican system may fairly be dated from his induction into the new office.

Deep however as may be our regret, at such a

close to the great and bloody Revolution, which had desolated France for several years, its necessity at the time can hardly be denied. It had become absolutely imperative to establish a vigorous administration, where the subversion of order, and of law, and of religion had uprooted the very bases of the state. It was time to end that system of *change*, which, too common in all political movements, appeared truly indigenous to the French Revolutionary schemes. In short, the people had become desirous of having some settled arrangement, even if despotism itself were too apparent in the new organization of the executive power.

It was, therefore, in accordance with the general will, that Buonaparte assumed the reins of government, on the fall of the Directory. Nor did the early results of his administration, disappoint the expectations, which raised him to what might be termed, with considerable propriety, a "Republican Throne." Where confusion, distress, and rebellion had alarmed the country, preventing all ameliorations, his active and judicious regulations speedily restored prosperity and peace. Till the French, who are somewhat apt to embrace extremes, forgot their late admiration of liberty, and hailed as a *chef d'œuvre* a species of government, that differed only in name from the one, they had laboured so hard to overturn.

Soon after his elevation, Buonaparte addressed a letter to the king of England. In this communication, at once undiplomatic and unusual, he expressed his desire to terminate the war between the two

nations. Nor can it be doubted, but a satisfactory arrangement might have concluded at this time, if the parties had been actuated by the principles, they professed to admire. No real cause of enmity, or rivalry, did then, or does now, exist between France and Britain, beside that proper rivalry which must ever arise between manufacturing and commercial countries, each of which is anxious to obtain a preference in the general market of the world. But at the period, we are now considering, the feelings of the people in either nation, were too much excited to allow them to perceive, or perceiving, to acknowledge, their true interests. Thus the overture of Napoleon, whether sincere or formal, passed away without any useful result; and years of war were suffered to occur, in order to settle differences that common sense would have annihilated in as many hours.

As we have stated in a preceding page, the French affairs had assumed a very lowering aspect, both at home and abroad, during the absence of Napoleon. Things had somewhat improved indeed with respect to their military proceedings, through the successes of Massena and Moreau; who had brought back victory to the banners, tarnished by the triumphs of Melas and Suwarow. The defection of Paul, Emperor of Russia, from his alliance with Austria had also served to restore the foreign relations of the Republic to a somewhat brighter view. It nevertheless required the energy of Buonaparte himself to complete their restoration to original glory. It remained for him to

cover their eagles with victories, almost equal to what had before resulted from his fortunate command.

The Austrians had all along exhibited a perseverance and bravery which neither the loss of their allies nor the successes of their enemies had been able to subdue. Though deprived of all Russian aid, they were even now meditating the siege of Genoa (sole relick of the French victories in Italy) and afterwards the invasion of France itself. Winter alone delayed their operations. An army of 140,000 combatants were spread over the plains of Piedmont awaiting but the spring to carry (as they hoped) their victorious banners upon the Republican territory. But fate had reserved for them a very different scene. Their veteran and excellent commander (*Melas*) had been repeatedly victorious in the campaign of the preceding year; but he was destined to be so no more. A greater than *Melas* had entered upon the stage; and he was about to eclipse the renown of the present, as he had before eclipsed that of so many Austrian commanders.

It has been stated that the design of the Austrian general was to besiege Genoa; to defend which an inferiour French army was posted under Massena, who had distinguished himself greatly in the last campaign. It now became the part of Napoleon to make this design of his enemies the foundation of their loss. Instead therefore of proceeding to join Massena and thus giving him a superiority in the field, he determined to adopt a quite different ar-



rangement, and one which seemed at first to leave that general entirely to his fate. This plan was to pass over the Alps, instead of turning their base as in 1796; thus placing himself *in the rear* of the Austrians, while Massena continued to occupy their attention *in front*. A scheme, so daring and so new, required a skill, an energy, and a perseverance which a Buonaparte alone was able to display. Such an one could alone have conceived the arrangement, and he only could have brought it into successful operation.

It was absolutely necessary to the success of this plan that the enemy should remain in total ignorance of it; since the least suspicion of the design would have enabled them effectually to frustrate the scheme. A very small force, stationed to defend the passes of the mountains, would have entirely prevented a march, that was alone sufficient to immortalize the hero who conceived it. In order then to conceal his design, Napoleon stationed the various corps, which were intended to compose the army under his own immediate command, in numerous and distant cantonments. So that the enemy, who was acquainted with the assemblage of only a few thousand conscripts, remained entirely ignorant of an army which a few forced marches placed at the very base of the Alps.

The prudence which dictated this precaution was equalled by the skill and perseverance that overcame the innumerable difficulties of the march itself. In vain did the snow-crowned mountains present their dreary and dangerous forms before



the Republican army. An enthusiasm, which nought but a sense of their leader's talents could have excited and maintained, enabled the troops not only to surmount all opposition themselves, but to carry over a numerous artillery besides. Even the unexpected appearance of a fort, commanding the only possible pass, did not discourage these heroic soldiers; who actually managed to draw their cannons under its very guns without being discovered by the unwary garrison, so that in a very short period the whole army had completed a passage, which would probably have disorganised any other, in existence at the time.

But ere we proceed in our account of Buonaparte's operations in this momentous campaign, it is necessary to turn our attention to Melas, the Austrian chief. Agreeably to the plan, already mentioned, he attacked Massena who was posted for the defence of Genoa. Having succeeded, after several severe engagements, in separating the army of that general; he compelled Suchet with one part of it to retreat towards the French frontier, while Massena was forced to retire into the city itself. Melas then left general Ott to prosecute the siege and proceeded himself to enter upon that *invasion of France*, which formed a part of his arrangement for the present campaign.

But that invasion he was not destined to carry on. Scarcely had he commenced it, before he received information which at once compelled him to abandon all operations against the soil of France. Tidings arrived that the First Consul had passed the

Alps and was already (April) menacing the territories of Milan and Piedmont. With his communications intercepted and his artillery and equipage exposed to capture, it was impossible for Melas to proceed further against Suchet. While, on the other hand, if he at once turned against Napoleon, he was compelled to abandon the siege of Genoa, now on the eve of surrendering to his power.

In this dilemma he adopted a course that had frequently proved fatal to his predecessors in command. *He divided his forces.* Considering it impossible that Buonaparte should have surmounted the Alps with any large number of troops or with much artillery, he deemed it best to leave a force, sufficient to continue the siege of Genoa and watch Suchet ; while with the main body he hastened to join the regiments that had been left in Italy and thus face the French commander-in-chief. As the reader is aware, his calculation was founded in error and it is therefore by no means surprising that it led to his defeat.

For instead of Buonaparte being accompanied by a small force, as supposed by Melas, he reached the Italian territory with at least 30,000 men. And while the Austrian commander was looking for his advance to the relief of Genoa, which he thought to be the grand object of his adventurous march over the mountains, Napoleon was proceeding to Milan to join a reinforcement of 20,000, who were coming from the army of Moreau. In order however to conceal this from the veteran Imperialist (Melas was an excellent officer 80 years of age) to whom

he was opposed, Buonaparte had caused general Lannes to make a demonstration, as if he were about to march either upon Genoa or Turin. This demonstration deceived his aged competitor. He accordingly wasted much time in the capital of Piedmont, while the First Consul was completing his arrangement for the further prosecution of the campaign.

As soon as he had finished the labours, necessary for this purpose, he put his troops in motion against the Austrians. Desirous to relieve Genoa, of the fall of which he was as yet ignorant, Napoleon determined to force the passage of the Po and then hasten to effect his design. Having advanced with this intention he soon encountered a large body of the Austrian army, commanded by general Ott, whom he thought to be besieging Genoa, but who had been ordered westward by Melas, when he first learned the advance of Napoleon upon the Lombardian capital. Ott was now stationed at *Montebello*; and a very severe battle was the consequence of his present contact with the French forces. The ground being covered with tall grain, many bodies of the opposing armies remained ignorant of the approach of their enemies, almost till their bayonets began to cross. This occasioned the action to be unusually close and murderous, and it was long before either party obtained any decisive advantage. The Austrians however were ultimately compelled to retreat, leaving the field covered with dead and 5000 prisoners in the hands of the French.

From the prisoners, taken in this battle, Napo-

leon, for the first time, became acquainted with the fate of Genoa. He consequently gave up all further advance in that direction, and took a position at Stradella; being unwilling to enter upon the plains, where the Austrian cavalry could operate with so decided an advantage.

In the mean time, Melas had advanced to Alexandria; but still, contrary to the expectation of Buonaparte, he did not advance to attack him at Stradella. Fearing therefore that his enemy might escape, either by passing him and thus reaching Milan, or by retreating upon Genoa, where he could receive supplies and assistance from the British fleet, the First Consul resolved to go forward. Determined apparently, that if the mountain would not advance to Mahomed, Mahomed at any rate should advance to the mountain. On the 12th of June he accordingly proceeded into the large plain of *Marengo*; and having on the 13th reached the village, so named, he was surprised to find it occupied merely by a small rear-guard of the Austrian army. He now concluded that Melas had retreated upon Genoa, and therefore ordered Dessaix, who had just joined him from Egypt, to proceed to Rivolta in order to observe the communications with that city. This general accordingly marched with the rear-guard for the purpose proposed; and, as we shall see, had nearly by this movement insured the defeat of his commander-in-chief.

For contrary to the anticipation of Buonaparte, the Austrian general had determined to engage. Finding that the First Consul was in his front, and



knowing that Suchet was in his rear, he by the advice of a council of war had resolved to hazard a general engagement. Nor can this be considered other than a wise, although it proved an unfortunate resolution. The Austrians were superior in number to the French, and their extensive and well disciplined cavalry were likely to give them a decided advantage in the open position, where the contest was to be carried on.

Melas therefore on the evening of the 13th of June concentrated his forces in front of Alexandria, being separated from the proposed field of battle by the river Bormida. Napoleon also being at length undeceived with respect to the intention of his opponents, prepared for the fight and forwarded orders to Dessaix to return as quickly as possible and join the army.

The disposition of his forces for the engagement made by this distinguished general was into three lines. The village of Marengo was occupied by the divisions of Gardanne and Chambarlhac, supported by Victor (who commanded the whole) with two other divisions. The left of this line extended to Castel Ceriolo, a small village almost parallel with that of Marengo. Behind this first line was placed the cavalry under general Kellermann. About a thousand yards in the rear of the first line was stationed the second, under Lannes, supported by Champeaux's brigade of cavalry. The third line, which was about an equal distance from the second as that from the first, consisted of the division, under Carra



St. Cyr, and the Consular guard, at the head of whom was Buonaparte himself.

The Austrians also advanced to the attack in three columns, crossing the Bormida for that purpose early in the morning of the 14th. The right and centre, consisting entirely of infantry, were commanded by the generals Haddick and Kaine. The left, composed of light troops and horse, made a detour in order to outflank the French right. About seven in the morning Haddick attacked the village of Marengo with great fury; and though Gardanne's division exhibited much bravery in its defence, it was found impossible to retain the possession. Victor supported Gardanne; but Melas who placed himself in the Austrian centre, coming to the aid of the assailants, Marengo remained in the power of the Imperialists.

Driven from this position, the remains of the first French line endeavoured to rally on the second, commanded by Lannes. But this general also found himself compelled to fall back; and the left wing of the Austrians beginning to threaten his right, which alone stood firm, Buonaparte was forced to detach a part of his third line to his support. At this critical moment the advance of Dessaix, under Monnier, arrived upon the field; and Napoleon himself hastened to lead them to the decisive point. Even this movement was insufficient to arrest the progress of the enemy. The French left was entirely defeated, the centre was put into great disorder, and the right alone maintained any thing, like an effective resistance. At this time, victory seemed assured to the Austrians; and the aged Melas, completely over-

come by the fatigues of the day, quitted the field, leaving general Zach to complete the affair.

But never did the end of an engagement more completely belie the appearances at its commencement and during the greater part of its course. For while Melas considered the victory as sure, Napoleon was preparing to snatch it from his grasp. Dessaix having arrived and occupied St. Julian, the First Consul obtained a rallying point for his scattered divisions. These, with their unrivalled quickness in recovering from a check, soon resumed both their courage and their ranks. And being led to the attack by Dessaix in person, they soon turned the scales against the hitherto victorious Austrians. Dessaix indeed was shot through the head, as he gave the order to charge; but his successor, aided by Kellermann, soon decided the fate of the day. Zach himself was taken prisoner with several battalions under his command; and a panic seizing the Austrian cavalry, they quitted the field in the utmost disorder. The Imperialists had also advanced during their successes without sufficient precaution; so that when they experienced an unexpected repulse, it became fatal in the extreme. Tired too with the length of the engagement, they were wholly unable to resist the impetuous attack of the French columns. Hence their repulse quickly degenerated into a flight, and they were driven across the Bormida, with immense loss. Thus terminated a battle which offered unusual vicissitudes and an unexpected result. A battle that shews a general ought never to despair of victory, while there re-

mains a possibility of avoiding defeat; and that it equally becomes one, never to consider his enemy beaten till at least the next day.

The consequences of this affair were important and immediate. Melas, on the 15th, entered into a convention with Buonaparte, by which he agreed, on being permitted to retire behind Mantua, to give up Genoa and all the fortified places which were held by the Austrians in Piedmont, Lombardy, and the Legations. Thus surrendering all the advantages, obtained when Napoleon was in Egypt, and placing the French in as good a situation as they had been, when formerly commanded by this celebrated man. A truce also was made between the armies, extending moreover to those serving on the Rhine.

A few days having passed in completing the arrangements, made necessary by this convention, Buonaparte returned to Milan, where he restored the republican constitution, which he had originally bestowed upon the Cisalpine State. But his presence being eagerly desired at *Paris*, he left Milan on the 24th of June in order to proceed to that city. Having visited Lyons on his rout, he finally arrived at the Capital on the 2nd of July.

He had quitted it on the 6th of May; and yet, *in less than two months*, what great actions had he performed! He had passed over the snow-crowned Alps—defeated an enemy, who had boasted they were about to invade France itself—and reconquered Italy, which had been lost when *he* was away.

Can we therefore be surprised that he was received by the Parisians with every demonstration of

joy! All the inhabitants ran to meet the hero, whose presence seemed the herald of victory; whose absence was the precursor of defeat! Shouts of welcome resounded in every direction; a general illumination was spontaneously offered; and it seemed as if all Paris were for the moment drunk with delight.



## CHAPTER VIII.

*Negotiations with England—renewal of the war—defeat of the Austrians—peace of Luneville—peace with America—peace with Naples—situation of France—plots to destroy Buonaparte, his escape, and increased authority.*

NAPOLEON did not fail to turn his successes over the Austrians to good account. But wishing to detach them entirely from their alliance with England, he offered them terms, more favorable than his decisive victories might have induced them to expect. He presented to their envoy, the count de St. Julien, a peace founded principally on the same basis as had been formerly agreed upon at Campo Formio. This was accepted by the Austrian commissioner; but rejected by the Emperor, because England was not included therein.

A communication was therefore made to the court of London with a view to bring about a general peace. The parties however, after some negotiation, could not agree even upon a preliminary convention; and the Emperor of Austria was consequently forced either to make a separate peace or to continue the war.

Considering himself bound to his ally, he chose the latter alternative. He even placed himself at the head of his forces, accompanied by the Archduke John, who was nearly as popular with the ar-



my as his brother, the Archduke Charles. Hostilities being resumed, the Austrians at first were partially successful; and, at the affair of *Haag*, obtained considerable advantages. This induced them to venture upon a general engagement at *Hohenlinden*, on the 3rd of December. But here fortune finally deserted their standards, and general Moreau obtained a victory, almost as complete as that which had so lately graced Napoleon himself.

In the meanwhile, other French armies were pressing upon the Austrian territory; so that its government had no resource but in again concluding an armistice with their victorious opponents. This was speedily followed by the peace of *Luneville*; concluded, at that place, between Joseph Buonaparte, the French, and count Cobentzel, the Austrian minister.

About this period (September 1800) a treaty was also concluded by Napoleon with the United States. Some differences had arisen between the two republics, and war itself appeared for a time to be the inevitable result. These differences were now however arranged by a peace, that has remained uninterrupted to the present moment.

An accommodation with Naples was moreover brought to a close soon after. This power had participated with Austria in the late hostilities against the French Republic; and, after the battle of *Marengo* and the consequent convention, became exposed to the rigour of the French. Nor would it probably have escaped without a very severe penalty, but for a strange yet successful resolution of its

queen. This consisted in an application to Paul, emperor of Russia, beseeching him to use his mediation with Buonaparte in favor of Naples. As we have stated, this monarch had withdrawn from his alliance with Austria, and entered into a treaty with their opponents the French. In fact he had become an ardent admirer of Napoleon, and much correspondence had taken place between the Autocrat and the future invader of his immense dominions. They were consequently upon the best terms; hence probably the thought, that gave rise to the application of the queen of Naples; and hence too the cause of its success. A First Consul could not refuse the request of an ally and an emperor; and Naples was spared. Murat, who was hastening to punish its temerity, was staid by the application of Paul; and the royal family were as yet suffered to continue on the throne.

Another event likewise occurred about this time that marked the policy of Napoleon. This was the restoration of his territories to the Holy Father.

Instead of re-establishing the Roman Republic, which had been created by his former victories in Italy, and crushed when success dawned upon the Imperialists during his absence in Egypt, the First Consul surrendered to its former possessor what had long been termed the patrimony of St. Peter.

These various treaties with Austria, Naples, and the Pope, served at once to promote the glory and consolidate the power of the future emperor. The next event we shall notice, demonstrated his influence, if it failed to display his moderation. This

was his attack upon Portugal. That power had long been in alliance with England, and she was now compelled to pay the price of her friendship. The king of Spain was ordered to declare war against his own son-in-law, the Prince Regent of Portugal; while a French army was sent to aid the Spaniards in reducing him to terms. He was consequently soon obliged to shut his ports to the commerce of England, and give up a part of his territory to the crown of Spain. So early in his career did Napoleon begin to exercise the influence that victory had given him, and exhibit that determination to interfere in foreign affairs, which finally brought about his own singular fall.

All the continental nations seemed now disposed to cultivate the alliance of the French Republic. England alone continued the war. Her fleets had annihilated the commerce of her enemies, while they rendered extremely difficult the sending of supplies to the army, which Buonaparte had left in Egypt. The surrender of Malta to that power also augmented the difficulties of this operation. And this event, which took place on the 5th of September, 1800, not only produced the effect we have noticed, but in some degree laid the foundation of those dreadful contests which desolated Europe for several years, at the commencement of the next century.

We must now turn our attention to France itself; as it was there the genius of Napoleon had at present to act. The cessation of war compelled him to make good the position he had acquired; if not in

his native, in his adopted land. An operation the more easy, as he was become extremely popular by his domestic government as well as by his external success. He had at once destroyed internal discord and foreign oppression; results, which made him a great favourite with all, who cared little about the form; so that they experienced the fruits of a vigorous and wise administration.

He was however disliked both by the Royalists and the Republicans. Each party saw in him an obstacle to the realization of their dreams; and each attempted a plot against his life.

The scheme, which the Republicans adopted for this purpose, was discovered and prevented; the plot of the Royalist conspirators was actually effected, but without attaining the expected result. This plan consisted in placing a barrel of gunpowder upon a cart, in such a manner, as that being surrounded with grape-shot, and fired by means of a slow match, its explosion might prove fatal to all who were near it at that time. This infernal machine, (as it was appropriately termed,) was to be placed in the way of the coach, that bore the First Consul to the Opera; and so managed as to explode at the instant of his passage. Such was the daring but infamous plot of the Royalist assassins; and it was very near obtaining a successful celebrity. On the 10th of October, 1800, it was placed in the street St. Nicaise, and actually impeded the advance of Napoleon's coach, which was enabled to pass it with great difficulty. The match was fired by St. Regent, one of the conspirators; and had it not been for the in-



toxication of the coachman, who drove the carriage of the First Consul, and which caused him to urge his horses with unusual rapidity, both he and his master would certainly have perished. As it was, two seconds only had elapsed after his passage, when the explosion scattered destruction and death all around. Two or three houses were tumbled into ruins, 20 persons were killed, and about 53 wounded; but the life, which was aimed at, was not yet fated to close.

When the explosion took place, Buonaparte exclaimed to Lannes and Bessieres, who were in the carriage with him: "We are blown up!" The attendants were about to stop and return to the palace, but with the presence of mind that never deserted him, Napoleon ordered them, to proceed to the Opera. Thus crushing any report of his destruction, which might be circulated, by his presence at the place, where he originally intended to appear.

This plot, like all such abortive attempts, confirmed and increased the authority, it was intended to destroy. Though carried on by the Royalists, it was at first, either from policy or mistake, attributed to the Republicans. That party accordingly felt the immediate effects of its defeat; and nearly 130 of its leaders were sentenced to transportation beyond the seas. Nor would they probably have escaped from an execution of the decree; but that the early insignificance of the party itself rendered them no longer objects of fear. Hence they were suffered to sink into oblivion; and many, who had figured during the *reign of terror* and other periods of the



revolution, were heard of no more. The real perpetrators were however shortly discovered and received the punishment, justly due to their abominable schemes. So that a plan, which, if successful, would have altered the entire face of affairs, merely served so far to change them, as to permit the First Consul to make more rapid progress in the establishment of arbitrary power. New laws were passed, conferring additional authority upon this functionary; and the police was arranged with that skill and vigour which rendered it so celebrated throughout the world.

A fresh support was afforded to the power of Buonaparte by the concordat with the Pope, which he caused to be negotiated during the succeeding year. By this arrangement the Catholic religion was restored in France, was again acknowledged to be the national faith, and suitable provision was made for its dignity and support.

The administration of Napoleon received a yet further prop from an act, that manifested the wisdom, and, as was thought at the time, the moderation of the First Consul. *This was an amnesty to the emigrants.* These unfortunate, if faulty, individuals were permitted generally to return to the land of their fathers. Not more than 500 in all were denied a blessing, that can be duly appreciated only by those, who have been long absent from the scenes of their youth or the country of their birth. The gratitude of these persons formed no inconsiderable aid to the administration of their benefactor; nor was even such assistance to be despised.

ed in his present situation. For though generally admired, and perhaps almost as generally feared, Buonaparte had yet causes which made him uneasy in his exalted position. He was as yet by no means firmly seated in the chair of authority; while events were occurring, that did not promise him greater repose. To those events, we shall immediately attend, merely observing at present, that they served to increase his desire for that general peace, it will soon be our province to make known.

## CHAPTER IX.

*Alliance of the Northern powers against England—their defeat—death of Paul—capture of Egypt by the British—peace of Amiens—Buonaparte becomes head of the Cisalpine Republic and Mediator of Helvetia—French expedition to St. Domingo—renewal of the war—capture of Hanover by the French—proposed invasion of England.*

As Napoleon had reduced all the continent of Europe to a state of peace with the Republic, his attention was now mainly directed to a prosecution of the war, still carried on between England and France. In order then to embarrass this, his sole, opponent, he endeavoured to augment the jealousy that had arisen among the neutral powers respecting the *right of search*. To restrain, or rather to crush, the claims of the English government with regard to this subject, a confederacy among what are termed the Northern powers had lately been formed, at the head of which was Paul, emperor of Russia and ally of Napoleon. The attempts of the confederates were however entirely destroyed by the victory obtained over the Danes at Copenhagen, and by the assassination of Paul, the principal of the league.

These events no doubt created, or increased, the desire of the First Consul for a general pacification.

Unsupported by the Northern Autocrat in his operations against Great Britain, he felt less secure of obtaining any distinguished success. During his alliance with Paul, he is said to have entertained a design of attacking England through her territories in the East; thus endeavouring to obtain by way of Persia a result that he originally hoped to gain by his expedition to Egypt. Both courses, however, were closed upon him about the same time; one by the death of Paul which we have just mentioned, the other by the loss of Egypt which we are about to record.

The army, sent by the English for the purpose of expelling the French from that country, landed there on the 8th of March, 1801. On the 21st of the same month a general engagement ensued between this force and the French led by Menou, who had succeeded to the command on the death of Kleber. The battle eventuated in a bloody, but somewhat indecisive, victory, on the part of the British, whose commander-in-chief, Sir Ralph Abercrombie, was mortally wounded during the engagement. But a Turkish reinforcement having arrived to the aid of the English army, as well as a considerable force from India itself, the French were speedily compelled to surrender the country, upon being allowed to return to France. Thus terminating an expedition that appears to have been begun without much consideration or any adequate design.

The death of Paul and the loss of Egypt were events, calculated to lessen the difficulties in the

way of peace between the remaining belligerents. Negotiations were accordingly resumed, and apparently with a desire in either side to bring them to a happy termination. A preliminary arrangement was therefore concluded between France and England, in October, 1801. This was brought to London by general Lauriston, aid-de-camp of the First Consul, who was received on his errand of pacification with every demonstration of joy and respect. Plenipotentiaries were forthwith sent to Amiens, in order to conclude a definitive agreement; and after a deliberation of nearly 5 months, PEACE was finally settled on the 27th of March, 1802.

Napoleon had now obtained rest for his country, after all the turmoils of her great revolution. He had quelled the intestine broils which had disturbed her repose; and covered her armies with a glory, unknown or unequalled in the brightest eras of her preceding history. He had compelled Europe to acknowledge her right to choose the kind of government, which was pleasing to her people; and though it may be doubted whether a *republican* form be the best, either for her situation or her population, Buonaparte had forced the sovereigns to permit her to make her own decision upon that interesting point. All this had been accomplished by the consummate skill, the untiring vigilance and dauntless bravery of the subject of our memoir. Well had it been for him, for his country, and for the world, if he had remained satisfied with the glory flowing from such noble results! Proved to be a consummate general and a statesman of no mean capacity,



how sad is it that he was not also a man, who preferred his country's welfare to the dictates of his own ambition!

But as faithful chroniclers, it is our duty to declare, that such was by no means the case. Scarcely had he signed the peace of Amiens, before he evinced a disposition for encroachment, and a spirit of ambition, that were certain to produce its speedy annihilation. By a sort of sham election, carried on in France, he caused himself to be chosen head of the Cisalpine Republic; thus uniting Italy to the vast dominions already beneath his controul.

Nor was he less desirous of augmenting and perpetuating his authority *at home*, than abroad. Forgetting; or not caring to recollect, the professed causes, which had produced the revolution, with all its scenes of horror and of blood, he now managed to carry back his country to almost its old position. By procuring his election as *Consul for life* with power to nominate his successor, he gained the situation though not the name of king. And if the revolution secured changes in France, that compensated even all the misery it produced; those changes did not consist, as far as Buonaparte was concerned, in lessening the powers, granted to the chief of the state.

Great however as were the advances of Napoleon towards unlimited authority *in France*, these would certainly have failed to excite the animosity of the monarchs of Europe. It was his uninterrupted march after *foreign* power, which quickly drew their notice and elicited their disapprobation.

Having annexed *Italy* to France by the election, we mentioned in a preceding page, Buonaparte now exhibited the universality of his kindness for the surrounding countries, by taking *Switzerland* also under his special administration. A difference having arisen in that country as to the form of government best suited to its interests or its desires, the Chief Consul determined to settle the point by establishing his own. He therefore addressed a proclamation to the Swiss, informing them, that, as it appeared they were unable to agree among themselves, he had resolved to become a mediator in their affairs. This beneficent design he carried into effect by an army of 40,000 men, under Ney; a kind of mediation that is commonly effectual; however little the subject of it may be disposed to consider that it is just. In this case, as usual, it was entirely successful; and Buonaparte added to his other titles that of *Mediator of the Helvetic Republic*.

So glaring an usurpation of power, in countries professedly independent, could scarcely fail to rouse the attention of the British government. They consequently refused to give up Malta, according to the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens, until the French displayed a closer adherence to the spirit of that accommodation. This led to a renewal of the hostile feeling that has so frequently placed the two nations in opposition to each other. And as both parties refused to make any concession,—England declining to surrender Malta, and France to relinquish her interference with Switzerland and Italy—it soon became apparent that, what had been term-

ed, the peace of Amiens was destined to be little but a truce.

During this armistice however the Chief Consul sent an expedition, under general Le Clerc, his brother-in-law, to reduce St. Domingo. During the French Revolution the black and coloured population of that fine island had expelled their masters, and declared their own independence. Napoleon now sent a fleet of more than 50 ships of war, and 20,000 soldiers, to punish the insurgents, and bring back the island to the dominion of France.

This large force was altogether irresistible by the blacks; and most of them submitted to the power of Le Clerc. But an ally soon came to their assistance, which turned their submission into resistance, and that resistance into complete success. This useful yet terrible ally was the yellow fever. That fatal scourge carried off Le Clerc himself and much of his army; so that in the end the remainder were compelled to surrender to the English on the recommencement of hostilities, and leave the country itself in possession of the blacks.

As we remarked before, the peace of Amiens was interrupted soon after its conclusion by the fears or jealousies of the two nations, which were the principal parties to it. France and England were not yet so far enlightened as to perceive that the real prosperity of the one is by no means incompatible with the true welfare of the other. They still looked and felt as rivals; and hence their fancied interests induced them to adopt measures that quickly led to a renewal of the war.

As soon as it became apparent that peace could be no longer preserved, Buonaparte determined to take possession of Hanover. This dependance of Great Britain had in former wars been allowed to remain neutral; but it was now compelled to feel its connexion with that country by a compulsory support of a large body of its foes.

But it was the proposed invasion of England itself that principally engaged the attention of the First Consul, upon the recommencement of hostilities. The whole coast of France, opposite to that island, became busy with preparations. All its ports were filled with shipping suitable for the conveyance of troops; while at Rochefort, Brest and Toulon armaments were prepared which seemed destined to guard them during the transportation. A large army was also assembled, ready for embarkation, under Soult, Ney, Victor, and Davoust, generals, who were even then considered as officers of the very greatest talent and undaunted courage. The whole expedition was prepared by the directions and was intended to be under the command of Napoleon himself. So that the decisive effort for the destruction of the modern Carthage was to be executed under the controul of the most distinguished commanders which the revolution had produced, and to be led by him whose name will be remembered when all the atrocities as well as benefits of that wonderful event shall be fading from the consideration of mankind.

Such extraordinary exertions, for an undertaking intended to blot England from the list of indepen-

dent nations, could scarcely fail to arouse the feelings and elicit the patriotism of its inhabitants. In fact the whole population ran to arms. And no doubt can be rationally entertained but a most determined resistance would have been made, if the French troops, escaping the British fleet, had landed on the English shores. How such resistance would have terminated, it is of course now impossible to declare. But thus much may be safely assumed, that if Buonaparte had escaped the fleets, defeated the armies, and subdued the inhabitants of England, there must have united in the enterprise a degree of good luck, skill and perseverance, which can scarcely be paralleled, even in his own remarkable career. Such a result would have surpassed, as well as rendered unnecessary, many of his after exploits; while it would have afforded a climax, that must now be for ever wanting to his extraordinary renown.



## CHAPTER X.

*Plots against Buonaparte—death of the duke d'Enghien—Napoleon becomes emperor of France and king of Italy—his second letter to the king of England—war between France and Austria—capture of general Mack.*

THE excitement, caused by the preparation for an expedition against England, was however shortly lost ; or became merged in the interest that was elicited by actual occurrences, scarcely less stirring in their nature, or calculated to be less important in their results. But ere we notice the effects, produced by a renewal of the war upon Europe in general, we must glance at some, occasioned by it, in France itself.

The reader is aware that the assumption of the Consulate for life by Napoleon, had raised against him the hatred both of the Royalists and the Republicans. The plots, which that hatred originated against his life, were, however, either prevented by his vigilance, or rendered ineffectual by his good fortune. While the general peace, which shortly ensued, prevented for a time a renewal of their attempts.

But when war had again clouded the horizon, the demon of assassination once more reared its head amid the political storm. A number of Ro-

yalists, among whom were Pichegru and Georges Cadoudal, landed on the coast of France, and notwithstanding the vigilance of the police, managed to reach the capital of the Republic. There they endeavoured to organize a plot, in which Moreau, (at that time considered as the leader of the Republicans,) was said to be engaged, the object of which was the removal of Napoleon from authority, if not the destruction of his life. But the scheme was prematurely discovered; and while some of the conspirators expiated their offences by a public execution, Pichegru *died* in prison, and Moreau was banished to the United States.

One of the Bourbon family, the duke d'Enghien, was reported to be engaged in this plot. And though it is probable he was unacquainted with that part of it which aimed at the existence of the First Consul, he was certainly endeavouring to excite feelings in France that were well calculated to lead to such a result. To forward his plans, or be prepared to take advantage of their success, the duke had taken up his residence at Ettenheim, a place in the territory of Baden and close to the frontiers of France. Buonaparte having learned his situation and designs, determined to prevent the execution of the one by taking instant advantage of the peculiarities of the other. Disregarding the neutrality of the duke of Baden, he ordered a military force to enter his territory, seize the Bourbon prince, and convey him to Paris. On the 14th of March, 1804, this order was carried into execution by colonel Ordener, acting under the direction of

Caulaincourt, afterwards duke of Vicenza. D'Enghien was seized at Ettenheim, conveyed to Vincennes, a fortress situated about a mile from the French capital, and there shot by order of a military commission, appointed by Napoleon to take cognizance of his imputed offences.

This summary and irregular method of ridding himself of an opponent, can scarcely be justified by any considerations. Yet it is the manner of it, which ought perhaps principally to engage our animadversion, as it was that which excited the disapprobation of almost all Europe. No event in the life of Buonaparte caused a greater dislike of him than this when it occurred, and though perhaps few of those who condemned him, would have hesitated to imitate his example in a similar case, it is certain that the public feeling has ever been strongly adverse to this hasty affair.

The plots that had been formed against Napoleon, previous to the peace of Amiens, served to make him Consul for life. The one we have just noticed helped him onward in his ambitious career. The Royalists and the Republicans were prostrated by the death of Pichegru and d'Enghien, and the exile of Moreau, so that nearly all persons, either from fear or admiration, acquiesced in his exaltation to the style and situation of EMPEROR which he now assumed. After some preliminary proceedings in the chambers, which Buonaparte had created to assist or veil his authority, he openly acceded to their request that he would take upon himself the sovereign power. He was accord-

ingly proclaimed *hereditary* Emperor of the French nation, and in case of his failing to leave issue, was authorized to name his successor from among the sons or grand-sons of his various brothers.

On the 2d of December, 1804, Napoleon was crowned in the ancient cathedral of Notre Dame by the Pope himself. The ceremony was attended by great eclat, numerous foreign authorities being present, as well as deputations from all the principal departments of the French empire. Josephine, his wife, was also crowned Empress, at the same time, by Buonaparte in person, who thus conferred upon her this distinguished honour in return for the advantages which his marriage with her had procured for him in his early career.

Thus in name fell the Republic of France. It had long ceased to exist in any thing but in form. From the rise of Napoleon to be First consul, France had been ruled by his authority, and, if governments are to be judged by their effects, it must be acknowledged the nation had been benefitted by his absolute administration.

As Italy had followed the example of her neighbour in all the mutations of her government, she did not hesitate to continue in her train. A deputation from the authorities of the Cisalpine Republic arrived at Paris to inform the Emperor that they also had discovered the disadvantages of Republican institutions, and to request that he would remedy their difficulties by at once creating and wearing the crown of Italy. So flattering a distinction could scarcely fail to be graciously received. Napoleon



consequently set off for Milan on the 11th of April, 1805, in order to go through the ceremony of being crowned. The new kingdom was modelled after the plan, adopted for France; and an order, called: "of the Iron Crown," was created, in imitation of that, which existed in the latter country, and styled: "the Legion of Honour." Having thus become *Emperor of France and King of Italy*, Buonaparte appointed his son-in-law, Eugene Beauharnois, viceroy of the new kingdom. He afterwards granted the request of the Ligurian Republic to be incorporated with the empire; and then returned to Paris in prosecution of his further designs.

Previous to his departure upon this new expedition to Italy, Napoleon addressed a second letter to the king of England. Imitating his own example, when made First Consul, he signalized his rise to the Imperial dignity by attempting to open a direct communication with the Sovereign himself. In this letter the royal correspondent noticed the grandeur of the two countries, now in hostile array against each other; the consequent inutility of conquest for the purpose of adding either to their power or their renown; and dwelt, with great truth though with little consistency, upon the advantages of peace, as well as the heavy responsibilities of those, who carried on war from unworthy or useless considerations. And seeming to think that his assumption of sovereign rank would conciliate the brotherhood of kings, he intimated his desire to enter upon immediate negotiations for the establishment of an honourable and stable peace,



This undiplomatic communication was answered by the English Secretary of State, in a letter to Talleyrand, in which that statesman was given to understand England could make no precise reply to the address of the head of the French government, until she had consulted her allies, and especially the emperor of Russia.

A reply so formal and cold confirmed the opinion, already entertained by the emperor, respecting the hostile disposition of this latter power. Indeed a want of cordiality had arisen between the governments of France and Russia ever since the death of Paul, and the lamentable end of the duke d'Enghien had served to augment the misunderstanding between them. Alexander, the successor of Paul, heard of that sad event with great indignation, and not only remonstrated with Buonaparte himself upon the occasion, but actually appealed to the German Diet respecting the violation of their territory which attended the prosecution of the affair. Thus endeavouring to gain the feelings, if not the assistance, of the Germans, in the quarrel he expected to commence with the French government.

In fact England and Russia were united in their determination to oppose that spirit of aggrandizement, which Napoleon so constantly displayed. But fearing that they were unable to contend with so great a captain, when he was at the head of all France, they were using every endeavour to enlist Prussia and Austria in their cause, no doubt hoping by so powerful a coalition to put a stop to the increase of, if they were unable altogether to sub-

vert, the authority, attained by the subject of our memoir.

Since the unsuccessful campaign of 1792, Prussia had observed a cautious neutrality. Her ancient rivalry with Austria had led her to witness with satisfaction the humiliation of that power, in the treaties of Campo Formio and Luneville. Nor did she fail so far to take advantage of the times, as to obtain some small accessions of territory in the changes, consequent upon those important events. But yet the Prussian people beheld with alarm and disapprobation the encroachments upon the German empire, made by the French. The integrity of that empire was a matter of great interest to them; and they consequently viewed the attack upon it, in the invasion of Baden, as something allied to an attack upon themselves. They were therefore prepared to receive with pleasure the solicitation of the Russian emperor to join him in the war against the French people. But their government did not second, or authorize, the desires of its subjects; remaining satisfied with the assumption of a state of armed neutrality, that would give them, as they supposed, an ability to turn the scale in favor of, or against, either belligerent, as might be best suited to their interest or their caprice.

Austria was more accessible to the application of the allies. Notwithstanding all her defeats, in 1796, and her disasters at Marengo and Hohenlinden, she was again prepared to resume hostilities; her warlike population having amply recruited the armies, so entirely defeated by Buonaparte and Moreau.

Once more therefore she resolved to hazard the chances of a campaign. Recollecting the victories, obtained by her armies when fighting side by side with the Russian Suwarow, she hoped to behold again the triumph of her arms.

At all events she determined to be prepared for the worst. An army of 80,000 men was directed towards Italy, over which country Austria still directed a very wishful eye; while a similar force was ordered to assemble upon the Lech, in order, as was anticipated, to act upon the Rhine. The former army was commanded by the archduke Charles; the latter was led by general Mack.

Previous to the actual commencement of hostilities, negotiation was again resorted to by the government of Vienna. At the peace of Luneville, France had agreed to the political independence of the Italian, the Helvetian and the Batavian republics; and yet Napoleon had assumed the virtual authority in either of them. As mediator of Switzerland, king of Italy, and ruler of Holland, (for the French troops entirely controuled the last named country), he was master of the whole; exercising his power within them as best suited his own ambition, or, as he affected to term it, the interest of France. Austria therefore was justified in requiring, as she now imperatively demanded, that the treaties between her and the French authorities should be strictly complied with. And it must in fairness be allowed, that she did not exceed the justice of the case, when she required that Napoleon should resign the power he had usurped, and

cease from the interference he had exhibited, in the countries we have named.

To do this, however, was by no means the intention of the French emperor. Before he assumed the power that gave such just umbrage to the continental governments, as well as to England, he no doubt calculated the consequences and resolved to risk the result. The complaints of Austria were therefore eluded, or recriminated, by Napoleon; and, in order to preserve, if possible, the peace of Europe, the emperor of Russia despatched an ambassador to mediate between the two. But ere this minister had arrived at his destination, information reached the allies of the annexation of Genoa to the French empire. A proceeding which so clearly exhibited the ceaseless ambition of Buonaparte, caused the scale immediately to preponderate in favor of war. Alexander recalled his ambassador, and the Austrians hastened to march an army upon Bavaria.

This latter proceeding was as impolitic as it was unjust. The elector of Bavaria desired to remain neutral in the approaching contest between France and Austria; but this the latter power peremptorily forbade. And on his quitting his capital, in order to avoid a compulsory junction with the Austrian army, the Imperialists proceeded to make exactions upon his territories, as if they were in actual hostility to their arms. A measure so hateful and unwise could scarcely fail to excite the animosity of the Bavarians; and hence, during the greater part



of the succeeding wars, we find them and their chief in alliance with France.

Nor was the skill, displayed by the Austrian leader, in any wise more conspicuous than the wisdom of his government in its conduct to Bavaria. General Mack was an officer well calculated to shine at a parade; but his mind was as inferior to that of Napoleon as the person of a Liliputian to that of Gulliver himself. Instead therefore of choosing a position where he might have securely defended his country till the arrival of its Russian allies, and given his own troops an opportunity gradually to recover the confidence, lost in several unsuccessful campaigns, this miserable commander hastened towards the French frontier as if to court his annihilation. Seeming to think that Buonaparte must advance by way of the Black Forest, because other French generals had attempted to penetrate Germany in that direction, Mack left Bavaria in his rear, and proceeded to fortify himself along the line of the Iller and the Danube, as if to watch the defiles of that celebrated pass. Whereas if he had considered, as it was his duty to consider, the former campaigns of his illustrious opponent, he would have concluded that the fact of previous generals having chosen this course, would in itself form a pungent reason with Napoleon, why he should adopt a different rout. His system of warfare was based upon a hope of surprising his enemies; and the fact that an arrangement was likely to be *unexpected* by his opponents, was commonly sufficient to determine the mind of Buonaparte in favor of its



adoption. So that the Austrian leader, in acting upon the supposition that this consummate general would imitate his predecessors, committed an error as faulty in its conception, as it was destructive in its results. By a cautious, yet firm line of proceeding, he might at least have delayed his defeat; and, under the circumstances, this would have been almost tantamount to victory itself.

It is not possible, in our confined limits, to offer any thing like a full view of this celebrated campaign. The proceedings of the French armies during its progress were marked with a skill, correctness of movement, and vigour in execution altogether unparalleled. Without the assistance of a good map it is impossible to follow with clearness the various marches which terminated in such signal success. In its absence, we will endeavour to present as clear an outline as circumstances will permit.

Instead then of proceeding against Mack *in front*, as that general expected, Buonaparte resolved to turn his flank, and thus cut him off from his country and his resources at a single blow. To effect this decisive operation, the French army was divided into 6 grand divisions. That, under Bernadotte, which had of late been stationed in Hanover, hastened to break up its cantonments; and, ascending the Maine, joined itself at Wurtzburg to the Bavarian forces commanded by the elector in person. This chief, as we have seen, was compelled into an alliance with France by the proceedings of Austria; and the elector of Wirtemberg, with the

duke of Baden also, followed his example in joining the forces of the invading army. In the mean while, the other 5 divisions of the French had passed the Rhine at various places; and while Murat manœuvred so as to confirm Mack in his delusion, respecting the advance of the emperor, the columns under Ney, Soult, Davoust, Marmont, and Vandamme proceeded to move round the right wing of the Austrian army, agreeably to the scheme planned by Napoleon before he commenced the campaign.

But ere he could complete his arrangement for the destruction of Mack, it became necessary for a part of the French army to pass through a portion of territory belonging to Prussia. A person, less daring than Buonaparte, would have hesitated before he violated the neutrality of a nation, so powerful as this; especially at a moment, when the attitude assumed by its government, shewed that it considered itself as holding the balance of Europe in its hands. To a common observer it seemed to be a great error in policy on the part of Napoleon to do any thing, that should hurry the hostile feelings of the Prussian people into an open alliance with the powers, whose armies he was proceeding to attack. But the emperor viewed the affair in a different, and, as the event shewed, in a more correct light. He was well aware that it was not a want of pretext, or inclination, that kept Prussia from the field, in opposition to himself; and, as he believed that a passage through her territory would insure the discomfiture of Mack, he hesitated not

to order a movement, the great results of which, he doubted not, would justify its irregularity and risk. Prussia, that now hesitated to join the allies, because she feared the genius, or good fortune, of Napoleon would prove an overmatch for them all, could hardly be expected to do so, when one of their principal armies was either captured or destroyed.

Mack, like all weak generals, became paralyzed, when, at length, he discovered the intention of his foe. He hastily concentrated his army in the neighbourhood of Ulm; although, as Bavaria and Suabia were then, or soon afterwards, in full possession of the French and their allies, it seemed impossible, that his staying there could lead to any result, except his own total disgrace. A part of his army, indeed (under the archduke Ferdinand) separated from the devoted host; and after several engagements, and much hazard, managed to reach Bohemia, and join the forces, there assembling for the defence of the empire. But the main body continued under Mack himself to await the approaches of the French.

Scarcely had the latter passed the Rhine a couple of weeks, when 20,000 prisoners without any general engagement, bespoke the surprise of their enemies, and the wise manœuvres of their own commander. That incomparable captain had thus gained the fruits of a victory, without even fighting a battle; and was rapidly proceeding to complete the destruction of the Austrian chief, now cooped up at Ulm, as Wurmser had formerly been in the

Mantuan Ci adl. For a time, Mack seemed resolved to hold out to the last; and if he had done so, his defence would have given his countrymen a little period, at least, wherein to counterbalance the dreadful blow which his previous incompetence had inflicted upon them. It appeared at first, as if he were determined to shew, that, if he knew not how to command his soldiers, he would at least exhibit to them an example, how soldiers should die. But coward as well as fool, he immediately surrendered upon the arrival of Buonaparte; leaving his country exposed to the further attacks of his illustrious opponent.

Thus was the plan of the French emperor wholly successful. Without a single battle, worthy of much consideration, he had captured the main Austrian army; while his own was ready to proceed, with undiminished means and yet augmented confidence, to complete the objects he had in view.



## CHAPTER XI.

*Capture of Vienna—difficult situation of Buonaparte—battle of Austerlitz—peace of Presburg—capture of Naples—ambition of Napoleon.*

NAPOLEON lost no time before he proceeded to gather the fruits of his remarkable success. Not fearing that Prussia would interrupt his communications, now that Mack's army was completely destroyed, he hastened towards Vienna, the capital of the Austrian dominions. He had menaced this city, during his former campaigns; but it had hitherto escaped capture by his arms. The disasters of Ulm were decisive of its fate. In vain did a Russian detachment press forward to aid the forces, yet embodied for its defence; or the Austrian authorities endeavour to repair its dilapidated fortifications, The force which attempted to cover it, was successively driven from all its positions, and finally found itself compelled to retreat upon Moravia, where the grand Russian army was assembled, under Alexander himself. The Austrian emperor also found it expedient to take a similar course. Perceiving that to attempt a defence of Vienna would merely serve to insure its destruction, he left the city, on the 7th of November, a prize to the foe.

On the 13th of the same month, the French army occupied the place; obtaining therein a vast quanti-



ty of military stores, arms and clothing. A part of this booty was given by Napoleon to the elector of Bavaria who thus witnessed the humiliation, and shared in the spoils of the Imperial house, that had lately treated him with so much injustice and disdain. The beautiful palace of Schonbrunn, so recently the residence of the Austrian emperor, became the temporary dwelling-place of his future relation. And the son of a Corsican attorney commanded in the superb mansion of the head of the house of Habsburg.

In the meanwhile, the French arms had been greatly successful in the Italian, as well as in the German campaign. The archduke Charles had been compelled to quit that country; having considered it necessary, upon hearing of the fatal affair at Ulm, to take up a position, where he might better afford assistance to his brother, the emperor; while, at the same time he could countenance the general rising in Hungary that was now taking place. Indeed having succeeded in forming a junction with the force, under the archduke John: the army, commanded by the two brothers, became an object of some apprehension to the leader of the French. As in case of his being foiled, either by the arms or the policy of his principal opponents, such a force was calculated to place his own army in great peril.

In fact, the situation of Napoleon, upon his present advance against the Austro-Russian army in Moravia was a situation of no inconsiderable risk. Besides the force of the archduke, which we have

noticed already, augmented as that force was likely to be by the Hungarian levies, the archduke Ferdinand had succeeded in raising a considerable army among the Bohemians. While the *Prussians*, even now doubtfully neutral, were likely to become effectually hostile, in case of the French receiving any notable check. The allied armies in front were also to be viewed in a different light from those, that had previously encountered the Corsican emperor. The Russians, in the few actions in which they had been engaged, during the present campaign, had shewn they were the countrymen, and that they remembered the triumphs of the brave Suwarow. It was therefore to be anticipated, they would attempt to rival his exploits; and that the Austrians, encouraged by a recollection of their successes, when formerly combatting side by side with their present allies, would strive to wipe out their recent discomfitures by an unusual determination. Whether therefore the views of the French commander were directed to his rear or to his front, it became apparent to him, that instant battle and undisputed victory were absolutely essential to the realization of his plans.

The true policy of the Russian leader was of a far different kind. Delay was to him almost tantamount to success. Situated in a strong position, he might safely have awaited the reinforcements, which the patriotism and bravery of the Austrian population were certain to afford. But the presumption of his army, occasioned by the recollections to which we have referred, as well as by the manœuvres of Bu-

naparte, directed to such an end, induced him to quit the advantageous ground he had previously occupied, and advance, where Napoleon was enabled to obtain the object of his desires.

This movement of the Russian leader took place on the 1st of December, 1805; when he proved by his arrangements, that his intention was to place his army in such a situation, as that his left wing should be able to turn the right of the opposing force. On seeing this, Napoleon exclaimed in delight: "before to-morrow is past, that army is ours." He however immediately withdrew his outposts, as if in alarm; thus confirming the presumption, that had originally led to the Russian proceedings, and which, on the succeeding day, insured their defeat.

Although the French, as is somewhat usual with them, exaggerate the numbers of the allied army in this engagement, it is probable no great difference, in this respect, existed between them. Each army is supposed to have brought into the field about 80,000 men. But though numerically equal, and not essentially different; it is likely, in patriotism or in valour, there was much variance in the skill of the officers and especially in the talents of the commanders-in-chief. Koutousoff, the Russian leader, was a brave veteran, who had commanded against the Turks, with considerable eclat. He was old however in prejudice as in arms; and was ill calculated to meet the then new and admirable manœuvres, by which Napoleon was accustomed to decide the fate of arms. Thus the real superiority was unquestionably with those, who shew, in the suc-

ceeding contest, that they well knew how to turn it to account.

As we have noticed, the plan of the Russians was to turn the *right* of their opponents. This scheme was anticipated by Napoleon, who placed Marshal Davoust behind the convent of Raygern to prevent its operation, and be prepared to attack the columns destined for its execution, at the very moment when they considered themselves assured of success. The right wing of the French army was led by Soult, the left by Lannes, while the centre was entrusted to Bernadotte, assisted by Murat with all the cavalry belonging to the army. A strong division, consisting in part of the imperial guard, was placed in reserve under the particular notice of the Emperor himself; who destined it with 40 pieces of canon to act, wherever the exigencies of the battle might seem to demand.

Such were the arrangements for an engagement wherein *three* Emperors, at the head of their respective armies, were about to decide the destinies of Europe. The sun, that lit these hostile forces to a contest with each other, arose with unusual splendour; and, in after battles, Napoleon was accustomed to cheer his cohorts, by calling upon them to remember the "sun of *Austerlitz*." As its beams arose above the horizon, Buonaparte appeared at the head of his army, surrounded by his marshals; who, after receiving his final orders, hastened to take their part in the action of the day.

The plan adopted by Kutousoff (or the Russian council), was at best of very doubtful policy. Its



execution, however, was yet more faulty than the original design. In the left wing of the allied army, having advanced with a view of turning the French right, suffered a gap to occur in its communications, through which marshal Soult penetrated at the head of his division. By this movement a part of the allies were entirely cut off from their centre, while they were impetuously attacked by Davoust, at whose position behind Raygern they had remained altogether uninformed. This surprise and the interruption of their communications caused the allied left wing to be entirely defeated.

The emperor of Russia indeed soon discovered the danger of his army, and ordered his own guard to attempt the relief of his isolated division. For this purpose they attacked Soult with great resolution; and for a time the French infantry were staggered by the vividness of their assaults. But in this crisis, Buonaparte, as was usual with him, ordered up his reserve, and quickly restored the triumphs of the day. The Russian guards, after exhibiting great bravery, were driven from the ground, leaving their artillery and standards a prey to the French. Constantine, the emperor's brother, escaped only by the swiftness of his horse.

In the mean while the French centre advanced to complete the victory. Murat, with his superb cavalry, charged the allied masses with irresistible force; and the centre of their army was soon in as great disorder as the left itself. And though the right had hitherto resisted the determined attacks of marshal Lannes with some success, its fate could



no longer be delayed. Surrounded, through the retreat or destruction of its comrades, by an overwhelming force of the enemy, this wing was now driven into a hollow, where it was exposed to a murderous fire from 20 pieces of cannon. In this predicament many attempted to escape across a frozen lake; but the ice being broken by the fire of the enemy, or failing from its own weakness, a great part of the fugitives were drowned.

Having witnessed the fatal termination of their arrangements, the allied emperors quitted the field. It however required the utmost bravery of their guards to secure their retreat, as the French pressed around with the greatest alacrity and determination. They did however manage to escape, leaving upwards of 20,000 men, most of their cannon, and 40 standards to mark the triumph of their foes.

This was the most important battle in which the French emperor had been hitherto engaged. He had frequently triumphed over the Austrians; but their successive defeats had now so dispirited this gallant people that victory over them had become almost a matter of course. At Austerlitz, however, he had conquered them, when supported by an ally whom former triumphs had rendered confident, as their native courage does ever render them persevering and bold.

This victory was also doubly acceptable to Buonaparte on account of the situation of his affairs. It at once put an end to all apprehension of Prussian interference; turning the message of defiance, about to be delivered to him by the minister of that power

just before the battle, into a message of congratulation upon its distinguished success. It also served as a set off to the total defeat that had been lately experienced by his fleet in the battle of *Trafalgar*. Causing the French people to lose sight of their losses upon the sea, by inducing them to consider themselves as masters of the land.

After so terrible a lesson, the allied emperors had no choice but between destruction and peace. Francis therefore repaired in person to the camp of Napoleon, to solicit a termination of the war. His future son-in-law received him in his military hut, and told him that was the only palace he had occupied for nearly two months. "As you have turned your residence in it to such good account," replied the Austrian monarch, "you may surely be content with it." Napoleon granted him an armistice; and, at his request, permitted the Russians to retire unmolested, upon their emperor agreeing to evacuate entirely the German territory, as well as the Prussian and Austrian portions of dismembered Poland.

The truce thus obtained was quickly ripened into a peace; signed at *Presburg*, on the 26th of December, 1805, by Prince John Lichtenstein and the celebrated Talleyrand. By this treaty Austria was compelled to make great sacrifices. Beside allowing the electors of Bavaria and Wirtemberg to assume the rank of kings, as a reward for their adherence to the French, she lost upwards of 20,000 square miles of territory, 2,500,000 subjects, and a revenue amounting to 10½ millions of florins.

During these memorable operations, the kings of Naples and Sweden had been exhibiting their hatred to France, or to Buonaparte, by some insignificant attacks upon his power. After the triumph of Austerlitz, both were made to feel the omnipotence of his political authority. The latter being compelled to retire to his own dominions discomfited and disgraced; while the Neapolitan sovereign was forced to quit altogether his continental territories, which were captured by the French.

Successes so extraordinary as those which had hitherto accompanied the career of Napoleon, could scarcely fail to affect strongly the ambition of his mind. Well indeed had it been for him and for the world, if he had now resembled the immortal Washington in moderation, and had sought the establishment of *rational freedom*, instead of personal or family aggrandizement. But such was by no means the case. Not satisfied with being himself the head of Italy and France, he seemed desirous that all the continent of Europe should come beneath his family domination. Naples was given to his brother Joseph, who, if he were not a distinguished monarch, has ever had the reputation of being, what is far better, a respectable and honourable man. The republic of Holland was changed into a kingdom, and given to Louis Buonaparte; so that the descendants of those illustrious patriots, who had emancipated themselves and their country from Spanish tyranny, were now compelled to bow to a sovereign, sprung from an island in the Mediterranean sea. The eldest sister of the emperor re-

ceived an accession of territory; having previously obtained the principality of Lucca. While several of his other female relatives, or rather the relatives of the empress, were married to some of the ancient princes ruling in Europe.

This desire to connect his family with the old dynasties was doubtless considered good policy by the French emperor. But whether or not he was right in this surmise, we think it abundantly evident that his establishment of *new* kingdoms, with the transfers of authority and allegiance, consequent thereupon, was a measure that demonstrated his power much clearer than it did his wisdom or his justice. Our limits will not suffer us to offer our reasons for the opinion, but we believe that these numerous alterations, not only in the governments, but in the *limits* of the nations of Europe, did much to unsettle all civil as well as political authority in that quarter of the globe. While confirmed, and *extended*, as they were, by the congress of Vienna, they have gone far towards unsettling the best basis of order itself. No doubt considerable good has been effected by the tearing up of ancient prejudices and superstitious reverence; but, still, it will be a sad exchange even for these, if *anarchy* is to be perpetuated in their place.



## CHAPTER XII.

*Creation of nobility in France—rise of the Confederation of the Rhine—conduct of the Prussian government—war between Prussia and France—bad management of the Prussian leader—battle of Jena—conquest of Prussia—conduct of the French in that country—generous action of Napoleon.*

WHEN Buonaparte changed the Republic, such as it was on his accession to power, into a monarchical government, he might have conferred an essential benefit upon his country. France at that time, whatever she may be at present, was not prepared for a system of government, which requires much information in the mass of the people, and a habit of moderation and reflection, altogether foreign from her population. Indeed, on the first appearance of Napoleon, in capacity of ruler, a degree of despotism might have been exercised, as being probably necessary to repress that exuberance of feeling and laxity of action, which had been occasioned by a long and bloody revolution. Law and order had to be re-established, after having suffered prostrated obedience. But when peace, both internal and external, had been obtained, he might and ought to have confined his ambition to the creation of a limited monarchy, as being that form of administration which was best suited to the situation of the people and his own real interest.



Unfortunately he adopted a far different course. Not only were all republican institutions trodden under foot with contempt, but liberty itself was banished from his realms. A nobility was created afresh; his civil and military officers being made princes and dukes. Old Jacobins, and Ultra-Republicans of every grade, became peers, under various denominations; and the court of the Tuileries was soon as noted as ever for etiquette and form.

By these means Napoleon endeavoured to fix the attachment of the tools with which he had executed his vast designs. He did not, however, confine his attention to a confirmation, or enlargement of his power in, what might now be termed, his own dominions; but spread it far and wide among foreign nations. Having crushed the power of the emperor of Austria, as a separate sovereign, he now determined to destroy his influence as head of the German empire. In that capacity, Francis had been able to exercise much controul over the various states, composing a confederation that had lasted more than 1000 years. Buonaparte resolved to deprive him of this authority. He therefore detached some of the principal states from the old league, and having formed them into a new alliance, independent of Austria, he became "*Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine.*"

This title originated in the situation of the states which composed the confederacy; and, by means of his new dignity, Napoleon was enabled to extend virtually the authority of his empire, far beyond

what he had himself designated as the *natural* limits of France. The Rhine formed the boundary he had thus denominated; but, by the scheme we have mentioned, he extended his power far beyond the limits that, according to his own view, nature had imposed upon the territories of his realm. For as, in character of Protector, he assumed the power of calling out the troops belonging to the confederation, and engaging them in wars, wherein *their* concern was scarcely to be discerned, all its states became in reality subjects of his power.

So great a stretch of authority in its own neighbourhood could not fail to alarm, and equally to displease, the Prussian government. In order, therefore, to counteract its effect, this power attempted to form another league, which, having Prussia for its head, might serve as a counterpoise to the Rhenish Confederation, and thereby preserve the independence of the North of Europe. Through the intrigues of the French government this plan proved an abortion, and it became daily apparent that the influence of Napoleon was as irresistible as his arms.

Before we notice the effects which these events produced upon the Prussian counsels, we will glance at the situation and late proceedings of the government of that important country. Under the administration and chiefly by the arms and policy of Frederick the Great, Prussia, from being a minor state, had become one of the principal powers of Europe. Her army, famous alike for discipline and valour, now amounted to upwards of 200,000

men; and, as we have remarked, she seemed to hold the balance of the continent, during the recent contest between Austria and France. During that contest, her hatred, or jealousy, of the former had caused her to witness the overthrow of the Imperialists with some complacency. It is true, that after the destruction of Mack's army, she began to exhibit signs of repentance for the base and foolish neutrality; and immediately previous to the battle of Austerlitz, her minister was about to deliver to Buonaparte a defiance, which that decisive victory turned into a congratulating address. But Napoleon managed to pacify her for the moment by giving her Hanover, which he had taken from its elector, in spite of the declared, and heretofore respected, neutrality of that potentate. And Prussia, or rather its ministry, was so base as to accept this boon for her suicidal proceeding, although she knew it belonged of right to an ancient and steadfast ally.

But now that Austria was ruined and Russia checked by the victories of Napoleon—now that he had established a confederation which placed much of Germany in his power, while he had hindered Prussia from imitating his example in this respect—he threw off the mask and actually hesitated to confirm the Judas-like consideration by which this latter power had been kept from the field. He was actually negotiating with England to restore the country (Hanover), which had been ceded to Prussia on account of her refraining from opposing his armies during the Austrian campaign.

A discovery of this double dealing threw the Prussian cabinet into a delirium of anger. The ministers who had so shamefully sacrificed the true interests of their country, saw themselves outwitted, as well as disgraced; and that war was become inevitable, when it could be carried on but with greatly diminished chances of success. As however it was impossible any longer to restrain the enthusiasm of the people, who had long been greatly opposed to peace, the Prussian ambassador at Paris delivered a note to the French government, on the 1st of October, 1806, which was in itself tantamount to a declaration of war. Since it demanded that Buonaparte should no longer thwart the design of Prussia with regard to the establishment of a confederation, in the North of Germany, similar to what Napoleon had created on the borders of the Rhine; as well as required that, by the 8th of the same month the French troops should be entirely withdrawn from the German side of that celebrated stream.

To such a demand, the French emperor had but one reply. Already was he in the field to prepare his answer; and he speedily furnished it, in an address to his own troops, instead of a diplomatic communication to the court of Berlin. "A German prince," said he to his soldiers, "has dared to insult the conquerors of Austerlitz; let us hasten to *punish*, what your brave deeds have not yet been sufficient to prevent."

In conducting the present campaign, the duke of Brunswick, who commanded the Prussians, com-



mitted the same fault which ruined Mack in the preceding year. Instead of waiting for the Russian auxiliaries (for Russia was again in arms against France) and thus acting strictly on the defensive, until their arrival, he hastened forward, as if, like the ill-fated general we have named, he was desirous to court his fall. While, as though it were desirable to run a course exactly similar to Austria in her fatal campaign, the Prussians exhibited a spirit towards Saxony, altogether like that of the Imperialists in the case of Bavaria. The Saxon ruler, like the ruler of the last named country, desired to remain neutral. This the Prussians would not allow; and the forces of that electorate were forced to join the standard of Frederick William; an incumbrance rather than an aid.

Nor were the general arrangements of the campaign better planned, than the particulars we have just described. The magazines of the Prussians, instead of being secured in the rear of their army and in the centre of it, as might have been expected, were placed at Naumburg, in the rear of their extreme right. Napoleon therefore commenced the manœuvres, which were to annihilate the independence of his enemy, by attempting to turn this wing, and thus obtain possession of their supplies. This effected, he could force them to fight at his own time, and he asked no more.

For the purpose designed he divided his army into three divisions, commanded by his most distinguished officers; the whole being under his own immediate direction and controul. After a variety of



manœuvres, and some severe contests, in one of which Prince Louis of Prussia was killed, fighting with a subaltern, the French succeeded in passing the Saal, and informed the king of Prussia of their being in his rear, by blowing up the magazines at Naumburg, which, as we have stated, were in that position.

The Prussian monarch became instantly convinced of the danger of his situation. Cut off from Magdeburg, his great rallying point, in case of its becoming necessary to retreat or to divide his army, he saw that now he must fight, as nothing short of victory would restore his communications. He accordingly divided his forces into two divisions, in order to cut their way through the French army. Hoping to obtain that safety through the bravery of his troops, which had been put in such imminent jeopardy through want of skill.

The division under the command of, or rather, which was attended by, the king, came in contact with the enemy, at Auerstadt. The French were led by marshal Davoust, who, after a very severe engagement repulsed the Prussians at all points, and convinced them, that escape in that direction could not be obtained. In the mean while the other division of the Prussian army was encountered at *Jena* by Napoleon himself. From the Emperor having been present at this place, the double battle has usually been called by its name; though the action at Auerstadt was probably the severer of the two. Napoleon arrived at Jena on the evening of the 11th of October, when he found that, though his heavy

artillery was yet 36 hours in the rear, the enemy were prepared to attack him the next morning; in order, as we have stated, to extricate themselves from the snare, in which the masterly manœuvres of Napoleon and the gallant conduct of the French army had served to involve them. Buonaparte however, was nothing daunted by a want, which was likely to be so much felt in the battle about to ensue. Perceiving that if he could raise his light guns to an elevated plateau, in front of Jena, their presence in a position, where such an apparition could scarcely be looked for, would produce an effect equal to a larger park under ordinary circumstances, he determined to get them up the rocky ascent. All night did he spend with the soldiers, encouraging them in the difficult labour. As each gun was dragged to its elevated position, he showered gold among the enthusiastic troops, while he raised their spirits by telling them that victory was sure. "The Prussians," said he, "fight for safety and not for honour; they are cooped up in their present situation, as the Austrians were at Ulm. The event will be the same."

On this interesting occasion the centre of the French army was commanded by Lannes, the right by Augereau, the left by Soult; while the cavalry and reserve were led by Murat.

A heavy mist obscured the sun, during the early part of the morning; and the two armies were close to each other, before it cleared away. When objects became discernible, Mollendorf, the Prussian commander, attacked the French with great vigor,

and for a considerable period, the admirable discipline of the Prussian army enabled it to delay its fate. Marshal Soult was hard pressed by his opponents; but Ney coming to his aid, and Buonaparte, through his excellent combinations, managing to secure a superiority upon the desired point, the Prussian line was at length broken and their defeat insured. For no sooner was disorder created in their ranks than Murat charged their disunited columns with an impetuosity and perseverance which nothing could withstand. All order was quickly lost in the Prussian movements, each detachment hastening from the field in indescribable confusion.—Scarcely a general remained to order, or a soldier to obey, out of an army that had so lately consisted of at least 150,000 men. More than 20,000 prisoners were taken by the French in this memorable day, besides 20 generals, 300 pieces of canon, and 60 standards.

A defeat so calamitous is almost unparalleled. But fatal as was the battle itself, its consequences were yet more fatal. Scarce a detachment escaped. On the next day general Mollendorf with the prince of Orange, who had retired upon Erfurt, were compelled to surrender. The duke of Brunswick, who had commanded the division at Auerstadt, was mortally wounded; and almost all the superior officers were either killed or taken. General Kalkreuth was overtaken and routed, while endeavouring to escape with a considerable detachment across the Hartz mountains. Prince Hohenlohe, who had managed to reach Magdeburg, found that almost

impregnable fortress destitute of provisions and was shortly afterwards, on his retreat to the Oder, compelled with 20,000 men, to lay down the arms, at Prenzlau. Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg with 16,000 men, who had not yet been engaged, was beaten by Bernadotte at Halle; only about 10,000 escaping under general, afterwards field-marshal, Blücher. This celebrated officer managed to collect a considerable body of the fugitives from the field of Jena, and endeavoured to retire with them, so as to reinforce the Prussian garrisons in Lower Saxony. During the marches and battles, encountered for this purpose, he exhibited much of that indefatigable vigilance and persevering bravery, which, at a subsequent period, redeemed his country. But at the time, the odds were against him. Almost surrounded by numerous detachments of the victorious enemy, he was ultimately compelled to withdraw to Lubeck; there, like a stag at bay, to await the approach of his pursuers. On their arrival, he still defied their exertions; and it was not, till a sanguinary battle in the very streets of the town had shewn him the hopelessness of success, that he surrendered the colours of his country.

These events decided the fate of Prussia. Almost all her fortresses, though celebrated for their strength, surrendered without any, or with scarcely any, resistance; and it was strongly suspected, at the time, that a golden key had unlocked their massive gates. Whether it was the effect of treachery or panic, it is now impossible to ascertain; but it is certain, that Spandau, Stettin, Custrin, and even



Magdeburg itself, were given up under circumstances, which equally excited the indignation of the Prussian people and the surprise of Europe. In fact all was lost. On the 25th of October, Napoleon entered the capital; and before the end of November almost the whole of the German possessions of the house of Brandenburg were occupied by the French. The king was a fugitive at Königsberg with only a few thousand soldiers, the sad relics of a host, whose predecessors had defied Europe in arms, and who themselves a few weeks before were deemed able to cope with the whole power of France.

Thus in an inconceivable short space of time for so momentous an operation, the Prussian monarchy was crumbled into dust. The labours of a century were destroyed in a week. And though the conduct of that power, during the ruin of Austria, took from her much sympathy, and perhaps deserved the chastisement she received, so sudden and total an overthrow did in some degree force the commiseration of mankind. A feeling that was more justly excited, and universally experienced, when the brutal proceedings of her conquerors became generally known.

The conduct of the French towards the Prussians, after the conquest we have described, was as unjust as it was unwise. If Prussia had sinned politically, in the view of Europe in general, she had not done so against France. It was in favour of French interests she had sacrificed her own; and put in fearful jeopardy the independence of the



world. Surely therefore the *French* were bound to remember this, when, for some purpose known only to themselves, they had overrun the country. How far their conduct evinced a kind recollection of it, during their occupation, the subsequent hatred of the Prussians to the very name of Frenchman, the black flag at Ligny, and the pursuit at Waterloo sufficiently attest! It is but too well known that, on this occasion, the French disgraced their country by unheard of exactions and the most studied insults. Indeed no palliation can, or ought, to be offered for actions, the existence of which can alone account for that *national* hatred, since established between the two people.

But amid such hateful proceedings, it is proper and pleasing to notice a trait of generosity exhibited by Napoleon himself. Soon after the occupation of Berlin by the French, the prince of Hatzfeld, residing there under their protection, was discovered holding correspondence with the Prussian generals, yet in the night, and communicating to them the state and movements of the French army. One of his letters had been intercepted, and the prince was arrested; when his wife, (who was ignorant of his conduct,) having access to the emperor, loudly declared his innocence. In reply, Buonaparte put into her hands her husband's letter. She immediately fell on her knees to beg his life. "Madam," said he, "burn the letter, and there remains no evidence of his guilt."

## CHAPTER XIII.

*Commercial decrees—commencement of the Russian campaign—spirit of the Poles—battle of Pultusk—Bennigsen made commander-in-chief of the Russian army—battle of Prussian Eylau—its immediate consequences.*

THE French emperor did not remain long at Berlin, although the season was far advanced for a continuance of the campaign. Brief however as was his stay in that capital, it sufficed for the publication of a series of decrees, that have become celebrated in connection with the commercial transactions of the times. Though previously prepared, these decrees were not promulgated until now, upon the occasion of the presentation to Napoleon of a deputation, sent by the Senate, to congratulate him upon his recent successes. To this body he announced his intention of retaliating, as he termed it, the "new customs" introduced by England into her maritime code. For which purpose all intercourse with the islands, constituting the British dominions, was strictly forbidden; these islands being declared in a state of blockade. British merchandize or manufactures, wherever discovered, were to be confiscated—every Englishman found in France, or in any nation in alliance with France, was to become a prisoner of war—and no vessel

coming from England or her colonies was to be admitted into any harbour belonging to the empire or its allies. At the same time the whole coasts of Europe, from the mouth of the Oder to the Adriatic Gulf, were to be lined with French *douaniers* and *gens d'armes*, in order to enforce this new "Continental System."

By means of these "Berlin decrees" Napoleon no doubt expected to sap the commercial foundations, upon which he deemed the greatness of England mainly to depend. He did not, however, intermit his military operations to superintend the execution of his commercial laws, but hastened, in a very short period, to resume his endeavours for the total subjection of the Prussian nation. The few fortresses, that yet resisted the conqueror, were speedily assailed; every effort being made to reduce them before the arrival of the Russian armies, which were slowly advancing to their aid.

The king of Prussia had indeed attempted to enter into negotiation with his formidable opponent. But finding that nothing short of an unconditional surrender of his remaining towns would buy even a short armistice, he was compelled to rest all his hope upon the assistance of his allies.

Against those allies, Buonaparte could have commanded a means of warfare that would have insured their defeat. The *partition of Poland*, that basest of all political spoliations, and which yet remains an execrable blot upon the nations that performed it, put in his hand a mode of resisting Russia, which would have been as effectual, as it

was then easy to adopt. He had but to declare *unequivocally* his intention to restore the independence of Poland, and his work was complete. The followers of Kosciusko would have performed the rest. Prussia was prostrate, Austria ruined, and Russia afraid. Nothing but the will of Napoleon was requisite for the restoration of a nation, whose fate was regretted by every friend of liberty throughout the world.

For reasons, which it is now useless to discuss, if possible to discover, he neglected an opportunity, which may never return. He allowed indeed some of the Polish exiles to tamper with the feelings of their countrymen; but he did nothing effectual to forward their designs.

Previous to his proceeding towards Poland, to begin the campaign against the Russians, the French emperor accepted the apology made by the elector of Saxony, for having joined himself to Prussia in the commencement of the war. That ruler became therefore an ally of France; and his armies were joined to the French troops in the occupation or subjection of the Prussian territory.

In the meanwhile the Russian van, under general Bennigsen, had reached Warsaw, where indeed their presence had become absolutely essential to repress the seditious movements of its discontented inhabitants. Murat however shortly arrived to disturb the repose of the Muscovites in these new quarters; and after some unimportant skirmishes, they found it expedient to recross the Vistula, leaving the grand-duke of Berg to enter the capital.



of Poland on the 28th of November, 1806. Napoleon himself had reached Posen on the 25th, where he found a population who were highly excited by the deceptive assurances that he had permitted others to hold out to them, respecting the restoration of their independence. The gallant but ill-treated Poles flocked to his standard in considerable numbers; though his oracular declarations, and indefinite answers to their addresses, began to cause a suspicion that he was not so ardent in their cause, as some of their exiled countrymen had induced them to expect.

Bennigsen however perceived that it would be impossible for him to make any effectual stand with his single division; and he accordingly continued his retreat, until he joined Kaminskoy, the Russian commander-in-chief, behind the Wkra. On the 23d of December, Buonaparte forced the passes of that river, and the Russian general deemed it prudent to retreat yet further, to the Niemen. He accordingly ordered his lieutenants to fall back, behind this latter stream; Bennigsen marching upon Pultusk, and prince Gallitzin upon Golymin. When Bennigsen reached the former town, he determined to make a stand, although such a proceeding was not in unison with the orders he had received. He was doubtless led to this determination by a desire to restore the spirits of his troops, damped by successive retreats; as well as by perceiving that the position of *Pultusk* was one, well calculated to enable him to obtain such a result. He consequently posted his left wing, under count



Osterman, in the town itself, while his right, led by Barclay de Tolly, rested upon a wood at some distance. The town of Pultusk is situated upon the Narew, the bridge over which river was occupied by a strong detachment, in order to prevent an attack in that direction. On the 26th of December, Lannes and Davoust, with their own divisions and the Imperial guards, attacked the Russians in this position. After some ineffectual attempts upon the centre of the enemy, the French generals (agreeably to the tactics of their master,) concentrated a vast force upon their own left, and drove Barclay de Tolly out of the wood; hoping to turn the right wing of the Russians and gain their rear. The retreat however of this part of the Russian force, served to lead their rather incautious pursuers into a fatal snare. For the Russian cavalry having covered the manœuvres of their commander, the French, upon advancing in pursuit, suddenly found themselves in front of the main body of the foe, and exposed to a close and destructive fire from 120 pieces of cannon. This unexpected opposition decided the affair; for the Russians pressing forward against the discomfitted enemy, the latter were compelled to quit the field, after suffering a loss of 8000 men killed and wounded in this sharp encounter. General Lannes was among the latter; and so rapidly did the French retreat after nightfall, that the Cossacks could discover no remains of them in the neighbourhood on the succeeding day.

While this battle was going on at Pultusk prince Galitzin was engaged at Golymin. Like Bennigsen

he repulsed the enemy; but like him also, he was compelled to retreat after the engagement. For unsupported by the other divisions of the army, and directed by the orders of Kaminskoy, his lieutenants were forced to direct their march upon Ostrolenka, where the two victorious yet retreating bodies were united together.

The incapacity of the Russian commander-in-chief became so apparent, from his failing to support his brave subalterns in the battles of Pultusk and Golymin, that he was shortly afterwards superseded by Bennigsen with general applause. Those severe engagements however did much in raising the spirits of the Russians; though, for the causes we have noticed, they had no important bearing upon the situation of the opposing armies. They served to shew, that even under Napoleon himself the French could be successfully resisted; and there can be no doubt, but a recollection of the battles of Pultusk and Eylau assisted the emperor Alexander in forming the determination, to oppose the hosts of France, which led, a few years afterwards, to the salvation of his own country, and of Europe in general.

Soon after his assumption of the supreme command, Bennigsen determined to put his army again in motion. He did not wish them to forget how to conquer, and resolved by menacing the French hosts to attempt the relief of Königsberg, then besieged and ready to fall. For this purpose he advanced to Mohringen where the French suffered considerable in a skirmish, and whence the Cossacks spread

themselves over the surrounding country with very great success. Indeed the confusion created by this irregular cavalry, was so extensive and complete, that the king of Prussia was enabled to throw supplies of all kinds in the besieged fortress.

After the battle of Pultusk, Buonaparte, instead of pursuing the campaign, had retired to Warsaw, his army generally occupying cantonments in the neighbouring towns. But he now found it necessary to concentrate his divisions, and resume the offensive. The operations of Bennigsen were not to be overlooked; and Napoleon determined to anticipate his designs.

His plan for the new campaign was similar to what he had so successfully pursued in the Austrian and Prussian wars. Ulm and Jena were to be acted over again in some new field. While Bernadotte with a strong division was to amuse the Russian chief in his position at Mohringen, or if possible, induce him to advance, the other parts of the French army were to be concentrated at Willenberg, in the *rear* of the enemies' position. Thus cutting off the Russians from their resources and compelling them, as he had done the Prussians a few months before, to fight with their front directed towards their own country instead of that belonging to their foes.

Bennigsen however became acquainted with this scheme of Napoleon by an intercepted despatch. He consequently altered his intention of proceeding against Ney and Bernadotte, who were manœuvring to decoy him to his ruin. On the contrary he

acted in such a manner, that without coming to any serious engagement, the French troops were eternally harassed by marches and counter marches, amid a country at all times difficult, and now covered with a deep snow. They were also constantly assailed by the Cossacks; the Scythian lances meeting them at every turn. For the indefatigable vigilance and turn for stratagem, exhibited by the followers of Platoff, were an overmatch, even for the light troops of France; whose audacity was sensibly curbed by these warriors of the Don.

The plan of the Russian chief was one, well calculated to thwart the designs of his foe. Far from their resources, the French were certain to suffer much from delay; and if the Russian commissariat had allowed the system to have been continued, as in 1812, Buonaparte would have found it less easy to bring the contest to an end. Such however was by no means the case. An eye witness, (Sir Robert Wilson,) has informed the world, that, at the time of which we are treating, the Russian army was destitute of all regular supplies. The troops, at this inclement season, had no resource but to prowl about, and dig up the hoards of provision, concealed by the peasants. This labour, in addition to their military duties, almost deprived them of all rest, and when they did lie down, they had no couch but the snow, no shelter but the wintry clouds, no covering but their rags. Hence their distresses soon became intolerable; and Bennigsen was compelled to fight that their misery might terminate in victory or death.



Contrary then to his own judgment, but compelled by circumstances, the Russian leader concentrated his forces at *Prussian Eylau*, determined to await, in that position, the attack of Napoleon.—Some severe skirmishes occurred during the progress of the army towards that place, in which prince Bagration particularly distinguished himself. At length, however, the Russian army reached the desired point, and marching through the town, (Prussian Eylau,) took up a position in its rear. It was the intention of Bennigsen to hold possession of the place itself, and he had issued orders to that effect; but from some mistake, these orders were not carried into execution, and the town was wholly evacuated by the retreating army. When this oversight was discovered, a Russian division was forthwith ordered to re-occupy the village; but upon their advancing with that intention, they found it already in possession of the French. These were quickly driven out by a determined charge of the Muscovite soldiers, who had however hardly regained possession, when they were themselves expelled by a new division of the French, sent by Buonaparte for that purpose. As Bennigsen was particularly desirous to hold the place, until his heavy artillery (advancing in another direction) had joined the army, he ordered a fresh attack upon the disputed post; and the French were once more compelled to retire, by the vigorous onsets of the Russian legions, who entered the town with drums beating. But the place being wholly unprotected by works of any kind, the French occupied the



broken grounds, which skirt its boundaries, and threw into the streets so terrible a fire, that the Russians were again obliged to evacuate it, and allow it to remain with their opponents. Night now arrived to separate the combatants, who hastened to make preparations for the yet more obstinate contest, that was destined to mark the succeeding day.

The two armies were at length in presence of each other; apparently determined upon a trial of strength. It had ever been the custom of Napoleon to bring his opponent to decisive action, at the very earliest moment, which circumstances allowed; and he had been prevented from pursuing his usual course in the present occasion only by the severity of the season and the manœuvres of his opponent, who wished for delay. Now however the enemy were at hand; and inferior as they were in numbers as well as in many other respects to the army under his command, Buonaparte might reasonably expect a victory, that would relieve him from his somewhat unpleasant, if not perilous, situation, and enable him to *command* a peace, as he had done at Marengo and Austerlitz.

But still circumstances were not altogether the same. The battle of Pultusk, inconsiderable as it was, comparatively considered, had served to infuse into the Russian army a spirit of determination, that induced them to look upon the coming battle with a feeling, allied to hope. They resolved at all events to act, so as to do honour to their country; even though their want of numbers, or of skill,

should render them too weak to defend effectually her invaded frontier.

As we have stated, the Russian position was in the rear of the town of Prussian Eylau; their centre being opposite to that place. This part of their army was greatly strengthened to prevent its being penetrated by columns, proceeding from the town. Their left wing rested upon the village of Serpal-len; while their right, much weakened by the unusually large force, placed in the centre, was compelled to rely for support upon the Prussian division of L'Estocq, immediately expected in its rear. The French were posted opposite their opponents; also expecting a reinforcement, in the division of Ney, which had not yet arrived, but was advancing on the extreme left of its own army.

The eventful battle of Eylau, as it was commonly termed, commenced with the rising sun, on the 8th of February, 1807. Two strong columns of the French advanced with the purpose of turning the Russian right and piercing their centre at the same time. In both objects they were completely defeated; retreating in great disorder from the heavy and sustained fire of the Russian guns. An attack, made by the same army on the left, met with no greater success; all parts of the Russian force—in-fantry, cavalry and artillery—exhibiting a firmness which did them the greatest honour. Towards mid-day a heavy snow-storm that blew in the face of the Russians, aided by the smoke, rolling along the line from the burning village of Serpal-len, caused a temporary confusion. Under the obscurity,

occasioned by it, six columns of French attempted to penetrate the position of their opponents. But Bennigsen bringing up the reserves in person, they were driven back with great slaughter and at the point of the bayonet. An entire regiment of cuirassiers, which had passed through an interval of the Russian line, being annihilated by a charge of Cossacks; only 18 men escaped from the destructive attack.

Victory now seemed to declare for the Russians. But as usual, Napoleon was endeavouring to obtain by manœuvres, what courage alone was unable to effect. Davoust, who, from the beginning of the action, had been attempting to turn the left and gain the rear of his opponent's position, now appeared upon the field of battle with a sudden and fatal effect. Serpallen, or what remained from the conflagration, was lost; the Russian left wing was thrown into disorder as also a portion of the centre, and were compelled to fall back, so as to form almost at right angles with the right wing and such part of the centre as continued to maintain its original position.

At this crisis, and when the French were on the point of gaining the enemies' rear, the *Prussians* appeared upon the field. Pressing into action with a vigour and determination, which they have since so frequently imitated, and which so well became the soldiers of the great Frederick, they soon restored the fortunes of the day. Their gallant and loyal commander led them forward with a skill and effect, that will always do honour to the name of

L'Estocq. Reserving their fire till within a few paces, the Prussian battalions threw it in with the most destructive effect; an effect that was rendered complete by a charge with the bayonet, which immediately succeeded. The heretofore victorious columns of Bernadotte and Davoust were driven back.

Not yet, however, was the battle at an end. Ney, in the meanwhile, had appeared upon the field and occupied Schloditten, a village on the road to Königsberg, and in the rear of the Russians. It was thought therefore necessary to regain possession; and, though it was 10 o'clock at night, the brave soldiers of Bennigsen closed the engagement by carrying it by storm.

Thus terminated the contest of Prussian Eylau. A battle the most severely contested and by far the least successful in which Napoleon had been yet engaged. *Fifty thousand* men had perished in the field, and the French had only been able to retire to the positions, occupied by their army previous to its commencement. Their loss greatly exceeded that of their opponents; while, for the first time in a general engagement, Buonaparte had left it doubtful whether he was a conqueror or not.

Great however as was the loss of the French, and deep the mortification of their emperor, the situation of the Russians was also deplorable in the extreme. They had, it is true, repulsed the enemy on the field of battle, but another enemy was assailing their army, which ever their courage was unable to repulse. Want, that, among other causes, had



induced Bennigsen to engage, threatened to be more fatal than the assaults of the French. Provisions were now entirely exhausted, and ammunition was beginning to run low; so that it was determined, after a consultation, held *on horseback* upon the field of battle, to retreat towards Königsberg. L'Estocq and some of the Russian generals advised indeed an attack the next morning; but in a full view of his situation, the commander-in-chief resolved to retire. The various corps therefore quitted the scene of strife during the night, with the exception of the division, under count Osterman. That general traversed the field of battle, opposite Prussian Eylau, the next day, without encountering any molestation from the French, who still held possession of the town.

In their published accounts, both parties claimed the victory. The Russians boasted that they had repulsed the enemy in every direction; the fighting, as they alleged, having terminated generally to the disadvantage of the French. Twelve Imperial eagles were also in their possession; an evidence of success, that no army had before been able to display in its contests with Buonaparte. While, for several days after the engagement, the Cossacks scoured the country, in all directions, bringing in great numbers of French prisoners. On the other hand, the French interpreted the retreat of the Russians into an acknowledgment of defeat; and appealed to their own possession of the dead and wounded as the usual testimonials of success.

But the subsequent proceedings of the French



emperor best spoke his real sense of the result of the battle. Four days after its close, he proposed an armistice to the king of Prussia; and that upon terms which Frederick William would have gladly accepted, even before the surrender of his principal fortresses to the arms of France. It was indeed intimated to him, that, if he were disposed to enter into a separate treaty, *all* his dominions should be speedily restored. Both the armistice and the peace were however declined by the Prussian monarch, who would not treat, except in conjunction with the czar. Their being offered by a general, who had always been accustomed to grant, and not to propose, such accommodations formed a striking indication of his opinion as to the resistance he had met. His inactivity after the battle, (for he remained 8 days without any movement of consequence,) also demonstrated the seriousness of his loss and his own sense of the critical position, in which he was placed.

Instead of driving the Russians behind the Pregel, as he had threatened previous to the action, he himself retired, on the 19th of February, towards the Vistula. For seeming to think that it would be dangerous to continue the campaign against such sturdy opponents, as he had now discovered the Russians to be, while so many fortresses, (and especially Dantzic,) were yet unsubdued, he determined to attempt the reduction of these, before he tried his fortune once more in the field.

## CHAPTER XIV.

*Siege of Dantzic—recommencement of the campaign—affair at Heilsberg—battle of Friedland—peace of Tilsit—its nature and the consequent situation of Europe.*

INDEED nothing but an assurance of victory could justify Napoleon in advancing against the Russians, while so strong a town as Dantzic remained in the hands of the foe. For should he meet with any serious reverses, in his encounters with the legions of Alexander, and experience warned him that such a result might possibly occur, the possession of that place by an enemy would put his army in a very precarious situation. Hence it became the determination of Buonaparte to attempt immediately the reduction of a fortress, which was in many respects calculated to have an important bearing on the fate of the campaign.

Dantzic, at the period we are treating of, was one of the strongest places in Europe. The garrison, commanded by general Kalkreuth, a Prussian officer of distinguished reputation, was very strong; and as it was expected the English would send a fleet and army to its relief, early in the spring, its gallant governor resolved to defend his charge to the very last extremity. The season however prevented the arrival of the expected succour; while the assaults of the French, conducted with equal

skill, perseverance, and boldness, rapidly reduced the defences of the place. Kalkreuth nevertheless managed to prolong his resistance, till the trenches had been opened 52 days. At length, all hope of relief being wholly gone, he surrendered, towards the close of May, 1807.

In noticing the siege of this celebrated fortress and its brave defence, we cannot but remark, that, if the other Prussian towns had been equally maintained, it is probable, Napoleon would never have reached the Polish territory; or if he had, the spirit, engendered among the Prussians and the Germans in general, by such bold and lengthened defences, would have rendered his position extremely unpleasant, if not imminently unsafe.

During the progress of this siege, Buonaparte had made every exertion, not only to recruit his losses, but also to place his strength in so imposing an attitude, as that he should be able, in all probability, to bring the war to a triumphant conclusion. Reinforcements of all kinds, and from every country beneath his controul, hastened to swell an army, that had been much reduced, and somewhat puzzled, by the battles of Pultusk and Prussian Eylau. Italians, Swiss and Poles, with levies from the various states, belonging to the confederation of the Rhine, were ranged under the banners of this political "Peter the Hermit." While a new conscription in the Imperial territories, (being an anticipation of that for 1808,) filled his ranks with the youth of France. The fall of Dantzic moreover enabled him to augment his army in the field, by placing at his

disposal the 25,000 veterans, who had been engaged in the siege. So that, upon the whole, he was able to recommence offensive operations with an army of 280,000 men, assembled, and in arms, between the Vistula and the Memel.

Far different was the army which Bennigsen was enabled to collect. He had indeed received reinforcements, but they scarcely made up the losses which a winter campaign, including two severe battles, had necessarily occasioned. His utmost available force for actual operations did not amount to one hundred thousand men.

Still the Russians became the assailants, on the recommencement of hostilities. Their army made a combined movement against the division of marshal Ney, stationed at Gutstadt and its vicinity, and drove them as far as Deppen, where some sharp fighting occurred. But on the 8th of June, Napoleon in person advanced to the relief of his general; when Bennigsen, in his turn, was forced to retire, hard pressed by the grand French army. Indeed, but for a charge, or an hourra, as they term it, made by the Cossacks upon the advancing columns of the French, the Russian army would probably have been thrown into inextricable confusion.

On arriving at *Heilsberg*, Bennigsen determined to make a stand. For this purpose, he concentrated his forces at that place, and the consequence was a severe action. Overpowered by numbers, the Russians were compelled to quit the level ground and retire to their position on the heights, which they continued to defend with great perse-



verance and gallantry. The French, on their part, made equally strenuous efforts to drive them from the post. Time after time was the combat renewed; but the brilliant valour of the assailants could make no effectual impression upon the obstinate bravery of the Muscovite soldiers. The battle lasted till midnight without any marked success; and the ground, intervening between the positions of the belligerent armies, presented the next morning an actual *covering* of dead bodies.

After this severe engagement, the Russians were allowed to continue their retreat without molestation; and they proceeded forthwith to place the Aller between themselves and the army of Napoleon. It was evidently the true policy of their chief to protract the war; not only because he was much weaker than his opponent, but also because he had reason to believe that large reinforcements were on the way to join his army. He accordingly, (as we have stated,) withdrew the whole of his forces to the right bank of the river, we have first named, with the exception of some detachments of cavalry, left on the opposite side, for the sake of watching the foe.

On the 13th of June, Bennigsen took up a position at Friedland, a town, situated on the western side of the Aller, and communicating with the other bank by means of a long wooden bridge. The main part of his army was however on the eastern (or right) side; but Napoleon, who had arrived in the vicinity, endeavoured to decoy the enemy over the bridge, that he might engage them in a general



battle, where retreat and destruction, would, in all probability, be equivalent terms.

With this view, Buonaparte displayed only a small part of his force; the woods, that almost surrounded, and came down to the town, enabling him to manœuvre and conceal his forces, exactly as he desired. Bennigsen, deceived by his stratagem, thought the force, opposed to him, consisted only of the division of Oudinot, which had been severely handled in the affair at Heilsberg. He accordingly hoped that he should now be able to complete its destruction. Entertaining this delusive impression, the Russian leader ordered a division to cross the bridge, march through the town, and commence the attack. This was what Napoleon earnestly desired, but what he could hardly have ventured to expect. When then the Russian detachment proceeded to execute the orders, they had received, he caused his own forces to act in such a manner, as to confirm the delusion of Bennigsen, who continued to bring reinforcements across the bridge, in the hope of overwhelming a division, which was able, (through the cover, afforded by the woods,) to receive constant, though unperceived, support. Till in the end the Russian commander had brought all his army to the western side of the river and found himself posted in front of the town of Friedland, in face (as he supposed) of a comparatively small portion of the French forces.

But no sooner had he completed this irremediable proceeding, than the scene was changed, or, rather, the mask was dropped. The French batta-

lions began to display themselves in solid masses—cannon were brought into position and Bennigsen became convinced, from the report of prisoners, as well as from the appearance of things, that he was opposed to the *Grand army*, under Napoleon in person. With his comparatively small force, he was entangled in a situation, where to remain, retreat or advance seemed equally unsafe. He found himself fully enveloped in the snare, which the skill of Buonaparte had planted for his destruction. But he determined, at all events, *to fight*. Unlike Mack, when similiary outgeneralled at Ulm, he resolved that his enemy should have a dear-bought, though he were to obtain a total victory. Resolving, like a brave soldier, to die with his companions, sooner than betray them to the foe.

Buonaparte perceiving the success of his manœuvre resolved to commence the attack. The French advanced for that purpose about 10 o'clock; the broken ground and wooded country enabling them to relax or renew their efforts as circumstances required. Covered by the forest, they could act unseen, and strengthen or weaken a point, without the alteration being perceived by the foe. Whereas, the Russian army being entirely exposed, every movement was known immediatly to the enemy, who were thus enabled to counteract its intended effect. The Russians nevertheless maintained the unequal contest with distinguished bravery, and without any marked success on either side, till four in the afternoon.

At that hour, Napoleon brought up his numerous

reserves in person, determined to exert, in one great effort, the vast superiority of force which was at his command. Columns of great depth, and corresponding power, nearly surrounded the Russian army, which seemed almost enveloped in a forest of glittering steel. From all quarters, cavalry, infantry, and artillery pressed towards the devoted host, animating each other with shouts of certain victory. While the army of Bennigsen, already reduced by the loss of 12,000 men, had to attempt the most difficult perhaps of all military operations, a retreat, through narrow and encumbered defiles, in face of a superior foe.

The main attack was directed against the Russian left, that part of their position offering greater facilities to the assailing columns. This assault was momentarily resisted; but in a short period, the overwhelming force of the French compelled the whole wing to rush into the town and crowd the bridge and pontoons (which offered the only way for retreat) in indescribable confusion. Indeed, but for the devoted heroism of the Russian Imperial guard, the whole had perished. For they were closely and perseveringly pursued by the French, who exhibited a boldness and determination that would have insured their destruction. But the van of these pursuing columns, under Ney, being charged by the guards, with temporary success, a part of the fugitives of the left wing were enabled to escape over the bridge; but that, and the pontoons, being set on fire, to prevent their falling into possession of the French, the greater part were com-

pelled to venture through a ford, discovered at the moment of their defeat.

The left wing being thus entirely dispersed, the centre and right of the Russian army retired from the field by a circuitous route. Unable to pass the river at Friedland, on account of the destruction of the bridge and the occupation of the town by the French, they were forced to seek some other place, whereby to regain their own side of the Aller. And, like the left wing, they discovered a ford at the very moment of extremity; upon which their danger induced them to venture, though the infantry had to wade through breast high, and the ammunition, yet remaining in the tumbrils, was completely destroyed.

The whole, however, effected a passage; and, being united once more on the right bank, proceeded in their retreat by way of Wehlau. Amid the calamities, attendant on their defeat, they managed to preserve the baggage, and cannon also, with the exception of 17 pieces. Indeed their obstinate defence, in the unfavorable position, into which they had been led by the stratagem of Napoleon, seems to have paralyzed the efforts of that great commander. Contrary to his usual custom, he satisfied himself with the possession of the field of battle, and allowed Bennigsen to rally his broken forces without molestation. So that the battle of Friedland, agreeably to the expression of a French general, was a victory lost, though it was a battle won.

Yet the consequences of the affair were all that



Buonaparte could have desired. The Prussians, finding their allies could no longer defend the remainder of their territory, immediately evacuated Königsberg; while the emperor Alexander became disposed towards peace, when he saw the victorious French about to penetrate the frontier of his own dominions. Nor was Napoleon indisposed for an accommodation. Finding that after so many bloody, and yet indecisive, engagements, he was still but upon the borders of a vast empire, whose warriors had taught him that he was not invincible, he thought it prudent not to press their head to an unconditional submission, especially as the English and Swedish forces were expected to commence operations immediately in the rear of his army; and that, too, among a population hostile to his views, and exasperated by the forced exactions and compulsory levies which had been made by his command.

Circumstances had thus rendered each of the belligerents desirous of peace. Disappointment and anger influenced the Russian emperor; while partial success and an apprehension respecting his rear had induced Napoleon to consent to an armistice. This armistice, concluded on the 23d of June, was soon followed by a peace between the three powers. The negotiations, which preceded it, were, however, distinguished for a deviation from the usual course of similar proceedings. They were not conducted by the ministers of France, Russia and Prussia, but by the sovereigns in person. For this purpose the town of *Tilsit* was made



neutral; and the three courts became established, and blended for the moment in a small village. Entertainments were given both between the monarchs and their officers; and they who for months had been drenching the snow with each other's blood were suddenly converted into apparent friends.—Indeed the two emperors became as intimate as brothers; and it is said, that now, for the first time, Napoleon entertained an intention of divorcing himself from Josephine, and connecting himself by marriage with one of the royal houses of Europe. Rumour even declares that Alexander agreed to give him his sister at this time; but that the opposition of the empress-mother, and, perhaps, an abatement of his own admiration for the great military leader afterwards led him to refuse the alliance. A proceeding that induced Napoleon subsequently to call him the *Greek*; meaning thereby to term him a trickster or deceiver.

Whether the French emperor did entertain any views of this sort or not, it is certain that the terms obtained by Russia in the treaty of Tilsit were of a very favorable kind. By the open articles, she was allowed a considerable extension of territory, *at the expense of Prussia*; while by the secret part of the agreement, it is now understood, she was to be allowed to make that attack upon Sweden, which soon eventuated in the separation of *Finland* from the latter power, and its annexation to the Russian empire. This was an object of great desire with the head of the Russian government. Finland stretches nearly to St. Petersburg, and, in posses-

sion of a hostile power, it places an enemy within a short march of the capital itself. On all previous occasions, it had been the plan, as it was the true policy of France, to support Sweden against the never-dying ambition of her great neighbour; but now, she deserted the beaten track, and allowed Russia to obtain a territory that consolidated her power, and gave her very increased means of resisting Napoleon himself on a subsequent occasion. A course so hostile to the real interest and accustomed practice, of the French government, was frequently attributed to an expectation, on the part of the emperor, of a matrimonial alliance with the house of Alexander. Indeed the circumstances of the case will admit of hardly any other solution of the reason, why Russia obtained such favorable terms.

Far different were those imposed upon Prussia. Frederick William was indeed admitted to the conferences which led to the treaty of Tilsit, and the entertainments that accompanied the negotiations. But he was not treated with the kindness, or admitted to the equality, granted to Alexander by the emperor of the French. In truth, it was rather as the friend of the former, than as an independent sovereign, that he was allowed a share in the business that was transacted. By the arrangement concluded between the three monarchs, Prussia was reduced to a secondary power. All the territory, acquired by the arms or the diplomacy of the Great Frederick, was cut off and given to the allies, or generals, of France. The part of Poland, given to Prussia by the iniquitous partition of that

country, in 1772, was formed into a separate, but not an independent, state. This new state was called the "Great Duchy of Warsaw," and given to the elector (now raised to the title of king) of Saxony. So that the deceived and ill-treated Poles, with their accustomed bad fortune, were merely transferred from one sovereign to another, and that too without their own wishes being at all consulted in the affair. They might perhaps be benefitted by the exchange; but this arose from no consideration of their situation, or desires, in the negotiations of Tilsit. They were transferred like a flock of sheep to a new keeper; and if they experienced any advantage from the alteration, it was caused by the personal feelings of the Saxon sovereign, or those of the administration, he established at Warsaw. Prussia was further humiliated by being compelled to allow a military road to be carried through her territory in order that the new Grand Duke might have an uninterrupted and good communication, between his Saxon and his Polish dominions. In short the conquered country had to drink deep in the cup of degradation; a procedure that, added to the conduct of the French during their occupation, gave rise to the deep hatred, yet existing between the Prussians and that volatile people.

By the treaty of Tilsit, *Dantzic* was made a free city, under the protection of Prussia and Saxony. But as Napoleon was unwilling to resign the possession of a place, so well calculated to be of use to him in case of any future war with his present allies, the sovereigns of Russia and Prussia, he caused

it to be stipulated that this *free* city should continue to be garrisoned by French troops, till the conclusion of a maritime peace.

As a matter of course, the Russian and Prussian sovereigns ratified all the changes Buonaparte had made in Europe. They acknowledged the thrones he had erected; and agreed to the leagues, formed by him either to increase, or sustain, his authority. Thus confirming the mighty alterations, produced by the French revolution; and legitimatizing the still greater changes which the sway of Napoleon had served to bring about

Such were the general results, or published conditions, of the celebrated treaty, that closed the war between France and Russia, in 1807. There is good reason however to believe that several *secret* articles were agreed upon, at the same time, between the two great powers of the North and South. We have already noticed that which allowed Russia to take a vast slice from the dominions of Sweden; and it seems that the ambitious schemes of the former nation, in the direction of Turkey, were to be winked at by the powerful Napoleon. On the other hand, Russia covenanted that the "Continental system," that favourite measure of Buonaparte, should be extended throughout her dominions. Alexander also agreed to revive, and put himself at the head of, what was termed, the "armed Neutrality;" a plan some time before adopted by the Northern powers to crush the maritime claims of England, but which had been terminated by the victory of Copenhagen and the death of the



infatuated Paul. These measures,—the continental system, and the armed Neutrality being insisted upon by the emperor of the French, in order to destroy the only power in Europe that continued to defy his menaces and controul his sway.

With the signature of the treaty of Tilsit, all appearance of opposition to France totally disappeared. The English armament, that had been destined to co-operate with a Swedish force, in the rear of Napoleon, returned to its native country; and the king of Sweden retired to the dominions, he was soon afterwards to lose. The congress, that had led to the arrangements, we have briefly described, broke up on the 9th of July; the two emperors parting with every appearance of perfect reconciliation, if not of confirmed respect. Buonaparte immediately directed his steps towards France. On his way he was met, at Bautzen, (so noted afterwards in his history,) by Augustus, the new Saxon monarch; who received him with the respectful gratitude which the augmented territory and higher rank, just conferred upon him by the friendship of Napoleon, were calculated to inspire. After the interview, the French emperor proceeded on his journey towards the capital of his dominions; every where meeting a reception suitable to the dignity of his situation, the brilliancy of his victories, and the vastness of his power.

On the 27th of July, he received the homage of the French Senate in the palace of St. Cloud. On this occasion, the orator, (the celebrated naturalist Lacepede,) appointed to deliver its congratulations,



found himself at a loss for language, adequate to declare the glory of the hero, he had been directed to address. Indeed at the moment we are referring to, the subject of our memoir may justly be considered as having arrived at the summit both of his glory and his power. Victory after victory had reduced the whole continent of Europe beneath his controul. It is true the forms of indépendence remained with several governments; but from the rock of Lisbon to the frozen capital of the Czars, the virtual authority now rested in the palace of St. Cloud. England alone remained to breast his hostility, and England he now determined to destroy.

## CHAPTER XV.

*Situation of Buonaparte—his conduct—domestic administration—public improvements—national education—seizure of Portugal by the French—interference of Napoleon in Spanish affairs.*

IF we stop for a moment to contemplate the situation of Buonaparte, at the close of the year 1807, we shall be struck with astonishment at the magnitude of the triumphs, he had achieved, and the vastness of the authority, which, in so few years, he had managed to acquire. But if we carry forward our observation, and view him, within eight years, a prisoner at St. Helena, and then consider what he had done in the mean time, either for his own glory, or the welfare of his people, we shall be filled with sorrow that he entirely misdirected his efforts, and allowed his unrivalled opportunities for the acquisition of a just and lasting renown to steal away unimproved. Not that this great man, or rather this great general, did nothing worthy of approbation, during the period to which we are now directing the attention of the reader. The subject of regret is, that with unparalleled means and opportunity for the perfection of much good, he did so little, that we must seek it, if we seek it at all, as we would a grain of seed in a whole heap of chaff.

Upon his return from concluding the peace of Tilsit, Napoleon directed his attention to the internal situation of his extended empire. But instead of doing this, with a view to the establishment of a system of a government, in which *the people* should possess a reasonable share, his aim appears to have been to curtail the limited portion of it, which he had previously been induced to leave in their possession. The necessity, which existed on his first induction into authority, for the suppression of the disorders and passions, created by the Revolution, exempts him from all reasonable censure, as to the arbitrary nature of his administration in the commencement of his career. His victories over both his internal, and external, competitors, will not allow us to offer a similar excuse for the abridgment of the liberties of the people, which he now proceeded to effect. For the good or evil of the well regulated, but complete despotism, which he deliberately and calmly established, as the rule of his government, his character will be answerable to the latest posterity. France indeed, misled (as is too usual with her,) by illusions of military glory, received even slavery with acclamation; but with the termination of her successes, terminated also her admiration of the scheme of government, created by the ambition of her emperor, and maintained alone by the power of his name.

It ought not, however, to be overlooked, that with his political tyranny, Napoleon coupled the establishment of a *civil Code* that will do honour to his character, when his victories shall be almost for-

gotten by mankind. The "*Code Napoleon*," as it was then termed, and as it ought still to be termed, was a boon conferred, by the persevering encouragement of the emperor to the efforts of his lawyers upon the people of France. They who are best able to appreciate its merits, have declared its excellence; and we feel unmixed satisfaction in noticing its creation, as one of the bright spots that occur in the career of him a knowledge of whose memoirs, we are endeavoring to extend.

Various departments of internal administration also attracted the attention of Napoleon, during the present cessation of his military exploits. The foreign commerce of the country having been almost annihilated, through the naval superiority of his principal enemy, he now endeavored by various regulations to increase the domestic trade. Unusual encouragements were offered to each branch of the Home Manufactures, in the hope that the want of English articles, experienced upon the continent, through his prohibitory decrees, might be supplied with French goods. New articles were invented to fill the place of those, cut off from consumption by the war or rather by the system of Buonaparte himself. Sugar no longer obtainable from the colonies, was made from Beet root, and nothing became so pleasing to the emperor, for the moment, as the production of some new substitute for articles usually obtained from the British or other foreign trade. But as the encouragement given to these new manufactures, was rather of an artificial description, and as the English goods continued, in a



great degree to be obtained, notwithstanding all prohibitions, little success appears to have attended his endeavouring in this respect. In fact, the results, as yet ascertained, appear to have been decidedly injurious to France. For as these artificially-encouraged manufactures were too extensive to be sacrificed, at once, on the return of peace, the country has been induced to foster a system of exclusion, with respect to foreign trade, that seems to have seriously injured the ancient and main departments of French industry, without conferring any commensurate advantage upon those, in favour of which the prohibitions have been made.

Immense public works were also resorted to, either to dazzle or employ the French people. Both objects were perhaps in the view of Napoleon in many of his undertakings; and his *road over the Simplon* and the *Basins of Antwerp* were certainly calculated to effect the two. In general however, it must be confessed that his labours, in the way of internal improvement, were rather of a grand than a useful description, and that he sought to please the imagination, rather than improve the situation of the people beneath his controul.

In fact, the mind of Napoleon was so essentially given to military, or political affairs, that he engaged it on other occupations, rather for amusement than design. War was the business of his life, and he assuredly was a master in the trade; every thing therefore partaking of a civil character was viewed by him as a relaxation from the accustomed course of his existence. Hence it arose, that most of his



acts, other than those which related to military or political subjects, bore evident marks of the haste with which they were adopted. Few of them but show they were decided upon, without that thorough examination of the whole case, which is absolutely essential to a full understanding, and consequently to a right decision of civil affairs. Or if he did examine, the subjects presented for his consideration, the ruling passion of his mind led him to a false conclusion. Thus *public education*, which ought to be directed to the communication of information, calculated for the use and improvement of a *peaceable* people, was turned by him into an instrument for the production and increase of a military spirit. Learning was communicated with, if not by, beat of drum. Encouragement was offered only to those among the youth, educated in his Lyceums who exhibited a turn, or inclination, for military affairs. His academies were intended to rear soldiers; and not well informed mechanics, industrious tradesmen, or (speaking generally) persons who were fitted, by their education, to fill respectably the various offices of civil life. Honour, distinction and renown could only be gained, in the French *Empire*, by success in the field of battle; and the youth taught in the schools established by Napoleon, were led to suppose that these alone were objects, for which a Frenchman should wish to live, or dare to die.

Our design, mainly directed to a relation of the *campaigns* of Buonaparte, and our limits (which warn us to hasten on our road) forbid us to say more

respecting the course of this distinguished sovereign in his domestic administration. His reputation, indeed, must ever rest in the main upon his merits as a commander of armies; and he will be thought of, and noticed as a general, when the bulk of mankind shall be scarcely aware that he was Emperor of France.

In concluding the peace of Tilsit it appears to have been the view (if not the agreement) of the two principal parties to it, that each should be permitted to seize upon any neighbouring territory that might suit their convenience or elicit their ambition. Thus, as we have seen, Russia extended her frontiers at the expense of Sweden and Turkey. Nor was it long before the French emperor exhibited a desire to imitate so tempting an example, by first interfering with the domestic concerns, and then seizing upon the territories of Portugal and Spain.

As however his plans were not at present so far matured, as to allow a display of the scheme, which he had probably formed some time before, for depriving the Bourbons of the throne of Spain, he, in the commencement of his intrigues, employed the forces of this power in subduing her weak and unoffending neighbour. A joint requisition was accordingly presented to the Prince-Regent of Portugal, from the governments of France and Spain, ordering him to close his ports against the commerce of England, to confiscate the goods belonging to her merchants, and to seize upon her subjects wherever found in the dominions beneath his con-

troul. To the former of these demands the prince gave a reluctant consent; but to the last, as being alike contrary to treaty, and the usages of civilized nations, he returned a peremptory denial. Indeed in promulgating the order, which declared the confiscation of British property, he so ordered it that the owners thereof had much time for its removal beyond the operation of the decree. And, in truth, he had better have resisted all parts of the requisition; since the parties making it, did not wait even for his reply, ere they concluded a treaty, or rather a bargain, for the partition of his kingdom. By this arrangement Portugal was to be divided into three parts, and distributed according to the views of the French emperor. So that Napoleon managed, by the plan, to secure the conquest of Lusitania; and, at the same time, employ a large body of the Spanish army, in a manner, that would render them less able to defend their own institutions, which he had determined to subvert.

Junot, the most rapacious of all the generals, produced by the revolution, was ordered to march upon Lisbon, to carry into effect this iniquitous scheme. A scheme, by which an unoffending but weak nation was to be blotted from the list of independent countries, merely to gratify the passions or promote the delusive projects of two neighbouring powers. Two other armies, partly French, partly Spanish, were appointed to support the attack. While yet another French army, 40,000 strong, was ordered to assemble at Bayonne, not only to give countenance to the proceeding, but

also to be upon the spot, when their interference should become necessary for carrying into effect the ulterior designs of Napoleon upon Spain itself.

To so vigorous an attack Portugal was wholly unprepared to offer any adequate resistance. The Prince-Regent therefore determined to afford the aggressors no excuse for bad conduct, during the occupation of his dominions, by making a defence what he knew to be useless. He accordingly resolved to withdraw to his transatlantic territories. With this view he communicated afresh with the English fleet, blockading Lisbon, and having made arrangements with its commander, Sir Sydney Smith, he set sail for Brazil, just as the French forces arrived in sight of his capital. Thus disappointed in a principal part of his design, the rapacious Junot proceeded to make exactions upon the country of the fugitive prince, in such unusual severity, as provoked the lasting hatred of the Portuguese to the soldiers under his command.

In the treaty by which Portugal was to be divided, it had been agreed, that a part of it should be made into an independent state, and given to the queen of Etruria (Tuscany), in lieu of her Italian dominions. Godoy, the minister of Spain and also paramour of its infamous queen, was likewise to receive a portion of the divided territory. Both however were deceived by Napoleon; the latter justly realizing the fate of the ass, that hunted in company with the monarch of the woods. The queen of Etruria lost her country, which was ceded to Buonaparte; but with respect to her indemnification in



Portugal, she soon discovered it to be truly a castle in the air. Instead of dividing this latter country, the French emperor occupied it wholly by his troops; and Junot, as his representative exercised the authority belonging to the head of the House of Braganza. So that, in the whole affair, it became apparent, there was an equal disregard of treaties and the obligations of good faith.

In the mean while Buonaparte appears to have fostered a spirit of discord that had arisen between the King of Spain and the heir to his throne. Both parties, weak, wilful and corrupt, had appealed to Napoleon for the decision of the quarrels, existing between them. And seeming to think, or pretending to suppose, that such an appeal gave him a right to interfere in the affairs of the nation, Napoleon ordered the army, assembled at Bayonne, to enter the country and seize upon its principal fortresses, in order to be prepared to give effect to his decision between the royal disputants.

Against so unjust, and as it proved, so fatal an aggression upon the feelings, as well as the independence, of a powerful nation, Buonaparte was seriously advised by two of the ablest ministers, the revolution had produced. Talleyrand and Fouché both recommended him not to attempt so dangerous a proceeding. They warned him of the deep, though dormant, pride of the Spanish people; and told him that he was raising a storm, it might be much easier to excite than to allay. Napoleon neglected their advice, and his fate was sealed. It is true, that success still continued to hover round



his eagles, for a time, and new victories recalled a remembrance of Austerlitz and Marengo; but from the commencement of the Spanish war, he was no longer invincible in the field. England was excited, by renewed hopes of ultimate success, to share in the strife upon the continent—her armies curbed the arrogance of the French commanders—and finally, caused the whole of Europe to rise against the power, and cast off the yoke, of her Imperial opponent.

## CHAPTER XVI.

*Spirited defence of the Spanish patriots—the French expelled from Portugal—Buonaparte and Alexander meet at Erfurt—Napoleon arrives in Spain—defeat of the Spanish armies—retreat and death of Sir John Moore—war between Austria and France—battle of Eckmühl—battle of Aspern—battle of Wagram—peace of Schonbrun—heroic conduct of the Tyrolese.*

IT is not probable the system pursued by the French emperor in the countries conquered by his arms, or cursed with his protection, could have been maintained for any considerable time. A plan by which these provinces of his empire (virtually so) were burdened with imposts, drained for recruits, and prohibited from the trade, essential to their happiness, if not to their prosperity, could scarcely have been prolonged beyond a few years. Long ere it had accomplished its object—the ruin of England—such a scheme must have perished amid the hardships it occasioned, and the irritation it produced. Europe would have risen *en masse* against an arrangement, which annihilated at once its independence, and its ease.

Still the *Spanish war* hastened this otherwise inevitable conclusion. It proved that the people could successfully resist even the victorious Napoleon, though their arbitrary governments lay crum-

bled beneath his power. It taught the continent at large how to oppose the impetuous bravery of the Imperial legions. While, above all, it raised up a commander who, though he cannot justly rank on a par with Napoleon, all things considered, is yet thus far superior even to him, that he is entirely unacquainted with defeat.

Much cause then as Buonaparte had to lament that interference in Spanish affairs which we noticed in the close of the last chapter, it probably only altered the manner, and somewhat hastened, the period of his fall. It was not, however, long after he commenced the operations by which he intended to transfer the Spanish diadem from the head of Charles and Ferdinand, to one of his own family, before he discovered the difficulty of the affair. In vain did he decoy the old king, and his heir, within his power, and then persuade them to resign both their liberty and crown. The whole Spanish population rejected the alteration, and rose against his designs. His troops were attacked in all directions, and though the surrender of a single French regiment was unknown, during all his previous campaigns, a whole army of 17,000 men became prisoners to the Spaniards in Andalusia, soon after the beginning of the war. His brother (Joseph) who had been made king of Spain, was speedily forced to fly from Madrid, the capital of his new dominions. Every town not seized by the stratagems of the French, was heroically defended by its patriotic inhabitants; while *Saragossa*, the capital of Arragon, became immortalized by a defence

unequalled perhaps in the history of mankind. Assailed by a numerous and well appointed army the brave inhabitants resolved to perish beneath, or within their unfortified walls. Week after week did they resist the various assaults of a brave, skilful and well armed enemy. Street by street, house by house, and even room by room did these heroic citizens dispute the possession of their town. Till in the end, having defied alike both famine and the sword they were relieved by the successes of their brethren in other parts of the kingdom. Successes that caused the armies of the intrusive monarch to hasten their retreat towards France, in order to get assistance from the advancing legions of Napoleon himself.

In the mean while a British army under Sir Arthur Wellesley (since Duke of Wellington) expelled Junot from the kingdom of Portugal. After two engagements in which the English soldiers exhibited much bravery, and their leader a skill, worthy of his subsequent renown, Junot consented to give up Lisbon upon his forces being conveyed to France by the English fleet.

Soon afterwards the army which had thus expelled the French from Portugal, took up its march for the Spanish frontier. Considerably reinforced, and put under the command of Sir John Moore, (Sir Arthur Wellesley had been recalled to England to give evidence before a court of inquiry) it hastened to offer countenance, and aid to the numerous Spanish forces embodied for the defences of the nation. These forces having been supplied



with arms, clothing and money by the English government, in order that their patriotic endeavours might serve not only to maintain the independence of their own country, but also lay the foundation for the general deliverance of Europe from the yoke of France.

Before however, we notice the result of these efforts on the part of the Spaniards, and their allies, it will be proper to glance at the proceedings of the French emperor when he learned the defeat of his armies in Spain, and their total expulsion from the neighbouring kingdom. The occurrence was without precedent in his experience; and it caused him to look around, ere he poured his innumerable legions upon the Spanish territory either to revenge the losses he had sustained, to expel the British, or completely subdue the natives of the country, he thought it necessary to survey the state, and if possible ascertain the temper of his nominal allies. He knew indeed that Austria recovering from her disasters, was delighted with his disappointments and defeats. But if Russia remained true to her engagements, at Tilsit, he considered that he might chastise the Spaniards and drive the English into the sea without interruption or alarm. It was therefore an especial object of his desire to learn how the emperor Alexander was affected by recent events.

For this purpose he proposed to that sovereign an interview at Erfurt. The suggestion was readily acceded to by the Czar, and the two emperors accordingly met in that town on the 27th of September, 1808. No diminution of friendship, or respect, was

apparent between them, during the somewhat prolonged meeting at this period. Alexander professed acquiescence in all the proceedings of Buonaparte against Spain; and they parted as they had met exhibiting all outward appearance of attachment and esteem. There is reason, nevertheless to believe, that neither retired from the conference, wholly satisfied. The project of a matrimonial alliance between Napoleon and a Russian archduchess was resumed at the meeting and *declined* by Alexander. And though the reasons given for this refusal, were intended to prevent all ill-will on the part of Napoleon, it is probable he never entirely forgave a procedure, so calculated to wound his feelings both as a sovereign and as a man.

But whatever were the true sentiments of the two monarchs towards each other, they parted as we have said, with every appearance of cordiality and respect. Alexander returned to his capital; and Napoleon proceeded to head the forces which had been collected upon the Ebro, to overwhelm the Spanish *insurgents* and their British allies.

For this purpose Buonaparte arrived at Victoria, the head quarters of his army, a week before the English commenced their march from Portugal in support of Spain. Celerity on the present, as on so many other occasions, enabling him to strike a fatal blow before his enemy considered the campaign as really begun. The numerous and patriotic, but ill disciplined and badly commanded, Spanish armies were successively dispersed. Blake, Belvidere and Castanos were entirely defeated; and it

was not long ere the capital itself was surrendered, to the gold, if not to the arms, of the French.

All this had occurred before Sir John Moore had arrived upon the scene of action. Misled by false, or puzzled by the want of accurate information, that general had advanced towards Madrid with the intention of delaying, if not preventing its fall. But finding that any further advance was useless for such a purpose, consistent with the design which had brought him to Spain, he at length determined to retreat. A resolution wisely, but tardily adopted; as Napoleon, who earnestly desired to add the capture of a British army to his other numerous triumphs, was already bending his undivided attention to cut him off from the sea coast.

The situation of the English general was critical in the extreme. His soldiers dispirited by having to retreat, yet he was compelled to retire, and that too across a rugged country, amid the snows of winter, and before an enemy, ever alert, and now flushed with victory and confident of success. His army moreover was destitute of all regular supplies; while the population of the country, if not inimical to his heretic soldiers, were certainly by no means anxious to offer them any particular support.

Under these disheartening circumstances Sir John commenced his retreat. Nor did the anticipated difficulties of the march at all exceed the real horrors attendant thereupon. Order and discipline were lost by the dispirited regiments, nothing but the appearance of battle recalling the soldier to

his ranks. When indeed there seemed a chance of fighting, the courage of the men bore them instantly to their regular posts; habits of subordination returned; and they were ever ready to close their troubles by victory or death. Thus the English forces several times turned upon their pursuers with great effect. On the 29th December they defeated a large body of the imperial cavalry; and general Lefebvre Desnouettes, a favourite of the emperor, remained a prisoner in their hands. But nought could prevent the French commander (marshal Soult) from pressing so close upon their rear, that a decisive victory alone could enable them to embark. Sir John accordingly drew up the remains of his army in front of Corunna; determining to obtain honor and safety for his forces at the bayonet's point. In this position he was attacked on the 16th January, 1809, with great gallantry by the French army. These were however repulsed in every attempt, and compelled to permit the English to embark unmolested during the succeeding day. Sir John however sealed his triumph with his life. Calling upon the Highlanders (42d regiment) to remember Egypt, where they had so much distinguished themselves, he was mortally wounded by a cannon ball. In the evening he was buried on the ramparts of Corunna, by his sorrowing but victorious companions; atoning by his bravery at the last for any mistake, or imperfection he might previously have exhibited in his valiant career.

The English being expelled, and the native ar-



mies annihilated, or dispersed, Buonaparte hastened from Spain on his way to Paris. It is nevertheless probable that he would not have left affairs so unsettled in the Peninsula, for Spain was far from subdued when her armies were repelled, but that a new and formidable opponent appeared upon the scene. Austria seemed once more disposed to dispute the authority, or resist the encroachments of the victorious emperor. Repeatedly conquered, she yet hated her conqueror; and considering the Spanish revolt as affording a favourable opportunity for the assertion of her rights, or the display of her ill-will, she resolved again to breast the fury of the hero, who had so signally defeated her armies at Marengo and Austerlitz.

The usual fortune of the nation attended her upon the present occasion. She was too late, in entering upon the contest, and too slow in her operations, when it was actually begun. It is true her exertions exceeded all former examples, as the armies raised by her for the war, are said to have amounted to upwards of 500,000 men. But ere she commenced hostilities the Spanish armies were defeated, and the English though not driven into the sea, were very glad to seek for safety on its billows.

The Austrians were commanded at this time by the archduke Charles, and as in the campaign of Ulm, began the war by invading Germany. Their reason for thus commencing offensive operations after the signal failure they experienced in a similar course upon the former occasion arose probably from a desire to seek assistance from the dissatisfaction of

the people, composing, what was termed the confederation of the Rhine. Nor can it be doubted that if they had found time and success, sufficient to justify the nations thus denominated, in raising the standard of revolt against France, they would not have experienced any disappointment in this respect.

Far different however was the fate awaiting their attempts. By an activity and skill unequalled perhaps in any of his splendid and most successful campaigns, Napoleon soon dissipated the dreams of victory, and hopes of influence and power entertained by his opponents. A few days only from the commencement of the war, the Austrian army was beaten at Abensberg with considerable loss. And on the succeeding morning (April 21st) the fugitives were attacked by Napoleon in person at Landshut, when they were entirely routed with the loss of 9000 prisoners, 30 cannons and much baggage.

By these spirited and successful operations, carried on by an inferior and scattered army, in face of one which had for some time been concentrated, and in line, the whole plan of the Austrians was entirely defeated. While Buonaparte, by his vigorous and ever fertile genius, was enabled to extricate his army from the rather perilous, and certainly ill-chosen position, in which it had been placed by his general in the earlier part of the year.

In the mean time the Austrians under the archduke Charles retired upon Eckmuhl. Here they determined to make a stand; but all their en-

deavours were in vain, as they were driven from the position and entirely defeated, after a battle which is said to have exhibited greater talent on the part of the French, than any engagement recorded in the annals of war. The divisions of Napoleon's army are stated to have been moved on this occasion with all the ease, correctness, and skill, exhibited in a masterly game of chess. They arrived at their appointed positions exactly at the moment, when their appearance was calculated to have the most decisive influence on the fate of the day—so that in spite of their courage, the Austrians were compelled to give way before the manœuvres and bravery of the French. Indeed their defeat was of a very disastrous kind; and most of their artillery, numerous standards, and more than 20,000 prisoners remaining to attest the triumphs of their foes.

After this signal failure, the archduke Charles retired upon Bohemia, leaving the road to Vienna open to his successful opponent. Nor did the latter fail to improve the opportunity. According to his usual custom, Napoleon pressed toward the heart of his enemies' country; and after a very severe engagement at Ebersberg, in which Massena carried the strong position of general Hiller by sheer force, Buonaparte once more entered the capital on the 12th May. During the bombardment that preceded the capitulation of the city, it was intimated to the emperor that the archduchess *Maria Louisa* was confined by indisposition in the palace of her father which happened to be exposed

to the greatest severity of the fire. A knowledge of this fact altered the direction of the cannonade; and his future wife was probably indebted for her life to the humanity and courtesy of Napoleon.

But though in possession of Vienna, the situation of Buonaparte was by no means of an enviable kind. It is true he had defeated, but he had not as at Ulm, captured the main body of his foes. On the contrary the army, under the archduke Charles, recruited, and reinforced from various quarters, appeared soon as if it were destined to resume the offensive while that commanded by the emperor, experienced great difficulty in maintaining its communications and procuring supplies.

Under these circumstances Buonaparte determined to pass the Danube and bring his recruited opponent immediate battle. It was ever his plan to fight at the earliest possible moment and the present situation of his affairs, both in Germany and Spain, rendered it important for him to obtain a victory without loss of time. But all the bridges over the river, that separated him from the enemy having at this time been destroyed (they were left in 1805) he found it extremely difficult to discover a situation where he could pass over his army with prudence, in face of a superior foe. After some ineffectual attempts, he fully determined to attempt a passage at Ebersdorf. The Danube at this place is separated into five streams by various islands that intersect its stream, the principal of the group being called the isle of Labau. With great skill and corresponding rapidity, the French threw bridges



from one of these islands to the other, till on the 20th of May the whole army had arrived upon the left bank of the river, and established themselves in a position stretching between the villages of *Essling* and *Aspern*, its principal supports.

Whether or not the archduke Charles anticipated the subsequent misfortune experienced by his opponent, it is certain he offered little opposition to a passage which it would seem he had full means to prevent. But on the 21st and 22d he attacked Napoleon with great vigour and superior numbers. Time after time was the village of Aspern taken and retaken by the contending armies. Till on the evening of the first day's combat, it remained (filled with dead) partly in possession of the French, and partly occupied by a portion of the Austrian army. Indeed the action was maintained with determined bravery, and nearly equal success till the afternoon of the 22d, when the bridges erected by Napoleon for maintaining his communication with the right bank of the Danube were carried away. The Austrians attribute this event to fire ships sent by them for the purpose, but the French declare the occurrence to have been occasioned by a swell of the river. Be this as it may, it caused the situation of Buonaparte to be one of great danger; and from which it required all the skill and bravery of his army to extricate themselves. Retreat or destruction were the alternatives offered to a commander, with whom battle and victory had usually been synonymous terms. Nor was retreat easy, before an enemy whom, after two days fighting, he

had been unable to conquer, and who, on learning his misfortune, pressed forward with renewed vigour and augmented hope. Aspern, that had at last remained with the French, was speedily retaken by the advancing Austrians. Indeed but for the extraordinary bravery of Napoleon's soldiers, who on this trying occasion shew themselves worthy of such a commander, that great general must have been entirely overwhelmed. Nothing however could exceed the determination of his forces, who under Massena continued to defend Essling that covered the retreat. In vain did the Austrians press fresh battalions into this now important place, and endeavour, at the point of the bayonet, to carry a position, the possession of which would have secured the defeat—the entire defeat of their great opponent. Every effort failed; and night at length enabled Napoleon to withdraw his forces to the isle of Lobau, that part of his bridges which connected the isle with the left bank of the river having escaped the damage that befell the remainder.

The destruction on both sides during this long continued engagement was very great. Each army is supposed to have lost at least 20,000 men, killed and wounded. General St. Hilaire and marshal Lannes, duke of Montebello, and the hero of an hundred battles, were both killed on the part of the French.

But the consequences of this bloody engagement fell far short of the expectations it raised in the minds of the enemies of Napoleon. With an activity almost unexampled even in his own active ca-

reer, this distinguished general speedily restored his communications with the other bank of the Danube, while he converted the island of Lobau into a sort of citadel, whence he could attack his opponents, as circumstances might require. Whereas the archduke Charles neglected the opportunity, if it indeed really existed, for striking a fatal blow against his future relative, and contented himself with assuming a defensive position on the left bank of the river, where he might watch the enemy, placed in the islands that separate its stream.

For several weeks after the battle of Aspern, each army received numerous reinforcements. The opposing armies in Italy (commanded by the archduke John, and prince Eugene Beauharnois) used every effort to join the forces in Germany under Buonaparte and the archduke Charles. But as Beauharnois managed to join Napoleon before the archduke John could enter into communication with his royal brother, the French emperor determined at once to attack the latter, ere he received the expected reinforcement.

For this purpose he began to move his army from the islands where it had been posted since the battle of Aspern, to the left bank of the Danube on the 5th of July at 10 o'clock at night. Having constructed several gun boats to cover his passage, he effected his landing in such a position, that the numerous batteries, erected by the Austrians to prevent his exit from the isle of Lobau, were rendered of no avail. In fact, the Austrian position was completely turned, and their flank and rear became

exposed to a simultaneous attack, through the admirable arrangements of Napoleon, and the culpable negligence of his royal opponent.

On the next day (July 6th) Buonaparte attacked the Austrians at *Wagram*. The archduke Charles, on finding himself surprised, had weakened his centre, in order to extend his line, and no sooner was this mistake discovered by his eagle-eyed enemy, than he ordered Lauriston and Macdonald, at the head of a chosen division, and with an hundred pieces of cannon, to press their attack in that direction. In this effort they completely succeeded, while Napoleon himself, who seems to have thought that his affairs demanded nothing short of a decisive victory, was seen in every place and amid the warmest of the fire, encouraging his soldiers, and directing the movements necessary to secure a triumph worthy of his name.

Nor was the result of the battle of *Wagram* less signal than he could have desired. The Austrians fled from the field in indescribable confusion; leaving at least 20,000 prisoners in the hands of the French. In fact the archduke John arrived upon the scene of action before the conclusion of the affair; and but for the completeness of the rout, might have restored the fortune of the day. As it was, he was glad to withdraw, unnoticed by the foe.

All hope from further resistance was now abandoned by the Austrian government. An armistice was consequently concluded forthwith; and after protracted negotiations a defensive treaty was sign-



ed at Schoenbrun, on the 14th of October, 1809. By this treaty, Austria made yet further cession of territory to France and its allies. Even Russia itself with its usual cupidity of power, agreeing to accept part of the spoil taken from its late ally. But still the terms may be looked upon as extremely favourable to the losing party in the war, considering the complete state of subjection to which he was reduced. Nor could Austria indeed have expected to get off so easily but for an event (the marriage of Napoleon) which totally changed her relation with France, and to which we shall refer more particularly in a future page.

Before however we remark upon a circumstance that had such powerful influence upon the career of Napoleon, as his repudiation of Josephine and marriage with Maria Louisa, we must notice the brave defence which was made by the Tyrolese peasantry against the armies of France and Bavaria, sent to bring them to subjection. Their efforts indeed, were useless for the moment. But whether received as an instance of isolated patriotism and bravery, or as one of the means that served, by its example to rouse all Europe against the tyranny of France, their heroic exertions deserve to be remembered; and we willingly devote a small space, even of our brief chronicle, to a commemoration of their deeds.

By the last treaty between France and Austria a part of the dominions belonging to the latter country, the inhabitants of which have constantly evinced great loyalty and attachment to the house of Habs-

burg, was severed from that family, and *made over* to the king of Bavaria. As soon then as the archduke Charles had raised the standard of resistance to France and its ally Bavaria, during the war the termination of which we have just narrated, the Tyrolese rose against their new masters. An army of 45,000 men was consequently sent to quell the rebellion, as such an assertion of the right of the people is apt to be termed by the admirers of arbitrary power. The nature of the resistance they experienced, may be fairly estimated by the following relation of the fate of the division, which consisted of 10,000 soldiers. Its general correctness may be fully relied upon and it forms a memorable instance of what real patriotism can do in defence of a state.

The division as we have stated consisted of 10,000 men (Bavarians;) and having entered the Tyrolese country, it proceeded along a road that is bordered by the Inn, there a deep and rapid torrent. Both the road and the river were confined by steep precipices of immense height. The place toward which this portion of the invading army was directed, and in order to reach which, it entered the pass we have alluded to, was Prutz; and the advanced guard had been permitted to arrive there without interruption. The main body consequently advanced without much fear or precaution until it arrived at a part of the ravine where the gradually narrowing precipices seemed almost to meet above the head of the soldiers. No sound attended their march unless the scream of eagles, disturbed from

their nests; or the roaring of the river as it hurried along by their side. All was silence for a considerable time; when at length a voice was heard calling from above, "shall we let go?" 'No,' was returned in an authoritative tone: which came like the preceding exclamation, from one who seemed to be at the top of the precipices. An interruption, so fearful, yet unexplicable, alarmed the column, which was immediately halted till orders could arrive from the general, how to proceed under such inauspicious circumstances. Before however any directions could be received, the awful signal was heard, "In the name of the Holy Trinity, cut all loose." At the moment huge rocks and large trunks of trees placed for the purpose, came thundering down on the devoted host while they, who escaped from the descending avalanche were shot by the Tyrolese marksmen that fired from every bush, crag, or rock, which offered any shelter for their aim. As this fatal attack was made along the whole line, two thirds of the division were destroyed. The remainder were immediately routed by the peasants, who rushed upon them with swords, axes, scythes, clubs, or any other rustic weapons, that could be obtained to avenge themselves upon the enemies of their country. And as the vanguard at Prutz, were forced to surrender, the whole of the 10,000 invaders were completely subdued.

## CHAPTER XVII.

*Espousals of Buonaparte and Maria Louisa—proceedings in Spain—Guerilla system—army of Portugal commanded by Massena—Continental system—its object and effects—view of Napoleon's power at this period—rupture with Russia—Napoleon's plan of the campaign against Russia—French army, Russian army and position.*

SCARCELY was peace concluded between Austria and France, before Napoleon commenced arrangements for the dissolution of his marriage with Josephine. The avowed, and partly the true, reason for so unusual a proceeding, was the wish both of the emperor and of his subjects, to have issue of his body to succeed to the throne. Such a result had long been despaired of from his present alliance; and Napoleon ultimately persuaded his affectionate consort to agree to a separation, which, confirming to herself the title of Empress, allowed some other female to become the spouse of her Imperial husband. Thus proving that, the law which cements the band of social man was no impediment to the daring ambition of Napoleon.

The choice, if it may be so called, fell upon Maria Louisa, daughter of the emperor of Austria and niece to the greatest military opponent, that at that time, had appeared against Napoleon in the field.



It is impossible to state the motives (or at least all the motives) of Buonaparte, for thus allying himself to the house of Habsburg. Its consequences however are open to the view of the historian. Nor can it be doubted that these were of a description very unfavourable to his future success. The connection with the house of Austria, alienated from him the people who were accustomed to view him, arbitrary as he was, as a sort of representative of revolutionary opinions. While by inspiring Napoleon himself with an expectation of support, which experience did not justify, it induced him to undertake operations that led to his fall. At the time indeed, the marriage was looked upon by most persons as a circumstance highly calculated to confirm his power. Nor is it probable that such an opinion would have failed in the result, if Buonaparte had allowed the alliance to inspire his mind with a due sense of national justice and moderation. If it had caused him to consolidate, instead of to increase, his authority, the political union would, in all probability have justified the most sanguine theories of the French. But increase was his aim, and this ambitious desire hastened the sudden lapse of his wide spreading influence.

The espousals of Buonaparte and Maria Louisa were celebrated, *by proxy* at Vienna, on the 11th of March, 1810. The marriage was soon after performed at Paris, by cardinal Fesch, uncle to the emperor. And if viewed in reference only to the domestic happiness of the august parties, the alliance can scarcely be deemed other than a happy

event. They are represented as having lived in strict amity together when not separated by the innumerable calls upon his time, that were constantly occurring in the career of the emperor. Indeed the domestic conduct of Buonaparte was ever of the most exemplary description, and such as would have made him, in a private station, an excellent citizen and a happy man.

During the progress of the events, operations were carried on in Spain and Portugal with considerable activity and success. After the retreat and death of Sir John Moore, the British government despatched an army to the latter country under Sir Arthur Wellesley, a general who had distinguished himself highly in India, as well as in the expulsion of Junot from Lisbon during the preceding year. Previous however to his arrival in Portugal, marshal Soult had commenced the invasion of the kingdom, and captured Oporto, one of the principal cities. But scarcely had Sir Arthur Wellesley assumed the command of the English forces, ere he convinced the French general, that a new era had arisen in the mode of conducting the war. By movements at once rapid and judicious, the British commander forced Soult to abandon Oporto, and flee into Galicia with scarce three-fourths of his army remaining. The patriots in several battles defeated the French, and regained Ferrol and Corunna. Sir Arthur Wellesley formed the grand design of marching into Andalusia, and uniting the British forces with those of Cuesta, that he might check the progress of the invaders in the South; Cuesta

however would concur in none of his plans, and thus the allies were obliged to receive battle, on the 28th July, 1809, without the advantages of a former occasion. Yet the French were defeated at the battle of Talavera de la Reina, by Sir Arthur Wellesley. The continued perverseness of Cuesta however, caused this event to have a different effect from what it ought to have produced. The French troops collecting from every point, obliged Sir Arthur to retreat into Portugal, leaving behind to the mercy of the French upwards of 1800 wounded. The Spanish Junta to show their disapprobation of the conduct of Cuesta, removed him from the command, whilst Sir Arthur Wellesley received the title of Lord Wellington, at home. Fortune seemed everywhere to smile on Napoleon's arms. Zaragossa after a brave defence was compelled to surrender. Gerona, Tarragona, Tortosa, Cordova, successively fell into the hands of the French, and even Seville itself upon the 17th of February, 1810.

But the prize of victory had not yet been gained. The Supreme Junta had retreated to Cadiz, a city fortified on one side by a canal, and on the other by the ocean, it contained a garrison of 20,000 men, English, Spanish, and Portuguese, under the command of General Graham. This crisis, however, instead of depriving the spirit of the Spaniards was only an incentive to more desperate resistance; they expressed no dismay; they reckoned on time and opportunity as well as valour. They assisted Romana, in retaking Corunna and Ferol, and while the French were extending their conquests to the

Mediterranean, and thundering at the gates of Cadiz, the provinces adjoining to France, and in fact, through the whole Peninsula, were in a state of insurrection, except where the bayonet and sabre held them in awe.

The Guerilla system (or partisan warfare) was the basis of this extensive and persevering resistance. This warfare presented more formidable barriers than that of regular armies, because less tangible, and less susceptible of being crushed. The qualities of a partisan are inherent in the Spaniard; calm, temperate, and hardy, under the semblance of serenity, ardent, and fiery.

Neither promises nor threats made any impression upon them; and severity only excited the spirit of hostility. Nor were their leaders less hardy; they possessed the most perfect knowledge of passes, woods, mountains, &c. They obtained the motions of the enemy from the peasantry: was a French detachment too weak, they cut it off; was a garrison too feeble, it was taken. Thus they waged a perpetual war; were they sought for, they could not be found; could damage be done to the enemy, they were at hand.

But the Spaniards were not only dangerous, they were also expensive, large remittances had frequently to be sent to the army; besides the British forces were in Portugal. He, therefore, determined to make a gigantic effort to drive Lord Wellington out of Portugal. For this purpose he ordered that an army, upwards of 80,000, to be called the army



of Portugal, should be assembled, and put under the command of Massena, prince of Essling.

Lord Wellington, in the mean time, was reduced to a state of inactivity, by the weakness of the British troops, (for they did not exceed 25,000) and the imperfect discipline of the Portuguese of whom he had about 30,000. Lord Wellington had long since fixed the position in which he meant to defend Portugal, and the fortifications had been long in progress. He therefore carefully adjusted all his movements, that he might draw the enemy to a place, suitable for his purpose.

Massena saw them retreating, and that he might drive them, if not into the sea, at least into their ships, made a bold attack on the 27th of September 1810, as the British were assembled on the Sierra, or ridge of the hills called Busaco. The attack was made by five strong divisions of the French. Two attacked the right, and three the left, but were driven down with great loss. The French army, declining any farther attack on the Sierra, the British retired into their fortifications, which covered Lisbon. Here for more than four months, Massena tried every effort which military skill could devise, but to no purpose. At length on the 4th of March, he commenced his retreat followed by lord Wellington, until driven out of the Portuguese territory.

About the beginning of this year, (1810) Fouché, the minister of Police, endeavored unknown to Napoleon, to find upon what terms a peace with England might be obtained. But unfortunately Napoleon

entered, about the same time, into a correspondence with the marquis of Wellesley, concerning the same affair. The British statesman, receiving the double application, suspected some deception, and broke of all correspondence with them.

Overtures for peace with England, being thus rendered abortive, that he might destroy the strength, and sap the resources of that country, he enforced what he called the European Continental System, which abolished all commerce, and obliged each nation to use its own productions. For this purpose, he shut every port, and closed every aperture that he might smother the greatest enemy (Britain) to his ambition.

The efforts of this interdiction, seem to have been more severely felt by Napoleon, than by the object of his aim. By means of it, the thrones of Holland and Sweden fell, whilst Britain was not materially injured by it.

On the 16th of June 1811, Napoleon announced to his officers and courtiers, the birth of his son, by whom he was hailed King of Rome. This naturally drew the eyes of the world, to the vast inheritance, which was likely to descend to the heir.

Napoleon's dominions had gradually extended. His immediate liege subjects, to the number of 42,000,000, inhabited the finest portion of the civilized world. Nor is that all, we might add to his personal empire, Lombardy, Illyria, Istria, Dalmatia, Albania, Helvetia, Switzerland and some others. Thus about three-fourths of the civilized world were in subjection to Napoleon's sceptre.

Without entering at any great length into the causes of the rupture between France and Russia, we may observe that the seeds were sown in the treaty of Tilsit. This treaty, which appears to have been dictated by Buonaparte, contained several articles, which became vexatious to the Russians ; as “ that a free military road from Saxony to Warsaw and its territory, through Silesia,” “ that France should retain Dantzic until a maritime peace.” The Continental System also produced much distress, national and personal. Their timber, pitch, potash, hemp, &c. for which the British had been ready customers, remained on their hands. The articles of peace concluded with Austria at Schoenbrun, also created suspicions. By that treaty all western Galicia, together with the city of Cracow, and other territories, were disjoined from Austria, and added to the dukedom of Warsaw, the intention of which (as was supposed) was to restore the kingdom of Poland.

Overtures for adjustment having been made to no effect, the most active preparations were making on both sides. Those of Russia were defensive ; but she mustered great armies ; whilst France was rapidly pouring troops into Prussia, and the grand duchy of Warsaw, for invading the frontier of Russia. Yet amid those preparations, there seemed to be a lingering wish on the part of both sovereigns, even at this late hour, to avoid the conflict.

Accordingly, the Czar sent his *ultimatum*. The grounds of arrangement proposed were, the evacuation of Prussia and Pomerania by the French

troops, a diminution of the garrison of Dantzic ; and an amicable arrangement of the dispute between Napoleon and Alexander. The Czar agreed to have his commerce placed on the same footing as France ; to introduce the clauses necessary to protect the French trade ; and to use his influence with the duke of Oldenburg, that he might accept some reasonable indemnification for the territory, which had been so summarily annexed to France. Napoleon, however, thought fit not to comply, nay made them the direct cause of hostilities. The demand, he said, was insolent ; he was not accustomed to be addressed in that style, nor to regulate his movements by the command of a foreign sovereign.

On the 9th of May 1812, Buonaparte left Paris, for Dresden, where all the Kings, Dominations, Princes, Dukes, and dependent royalties, subject to Napoleon, waited upon him. Here Napoleon made a last attempt at negotiation, but with no effect. The Russians were found to be neither depressed nor elated, but arrived at the general conclusion, that war was become inevitable.

Napoleon's plan of the campaign was formed on his usual system of warfare. To carry his army into his enemy's country ; to accumulate a great force on the centre of the Russian line, to break it, and cut off as many divisions as possible ; to take possession of large towns and if possible Petersburg or Moscow.

Buonaparte's immense hosts occupied not less than a hundred and seventy French leagues in extent of front. Macdonald commanded the left



wing, which consisted of above 30,000. Prince Schwartzenberg commanded the right. In the middle, lay the grand French army, divided into three masses. The cavalry of the guards was commanded by Bessieres. The infantry by marshals Lefebvre and Mortier. The corps d'armee commanded by Davoust, Oudinot, and Ney; and the divisions of cavalry under Crouchy, Montbrun, and Nansouty, amounted to 250,000, also a mass of about 80,000 under king Jerome, Poniatowski, Rezinier, and a central army under Eugene.

On the other hand, the grand Russian army commanded by the emperor in person, and more immediately by Barclay de Tolly, advanced its headquarters as far as Wilna, it amounted to 120,000. On the north, Count Essen had a division of 10,000. Prince Bagration on the south, also Platoff. The army of Volhynia, under Tormasoff, occupied the extreme left, amounting to 20,000. Two armies of reserve, amounting to 20,000 each were forming at Novogorod and Smolensk.

Thus, the Russians entered upon the campaign with a sum total of 260,000 men, opposed to 470,000, with an odds of almost one half against them. Russia, however, during the war, raised reinforcements, which more than balanced her deficiency.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

*Sufferings of the French—Bagration is defeated by Davoust—battle of Smolensk—battle at Valantina—Koutowssoff appointed to the chief command of the Russian Army—battle of Borodino—the French enter Moscow—burning of Moscow.*

ON the 23d June 1812, Napoleon, having arrived and reconnoitered the banks of the Niemen, ordered bridges to be built across. On the Russian side appeared only a single Cossack, who demanded their purpose in the territories of Russia. "To beat you and take Wilna," was the reply. A dreadful thunder storm welcomed them in this dreary land. The Wilia too, being swollen with rain, presented an almost insurmountable obstacle in their way. The roads to Wilna having been broken up; the soldiers were losing themselves in the mud, or perishing in the bogs and quagmires of a country, which furnished neither friends nor subsistence.

Thus, in the very first marches from the Niemen and the Wilia, not less than 10,000 horses, and numbers of men, were left dead on the road. They suffered much also in the hospital department, for, although no battle, and scarce a skirmish had been fought, 25,000 patients cumbered the hospitals of Wilna; and the villages were filled with soldiers dying for want of medical aid.

On the 30th of July Napoleon being informed, that Bagration's army was placed far to the south-west, gave directions to the king of Westphalia, to press upon Bagration in front, and throw him upon the army of Davoust, which was to advance on his flank and towards his rear ; concluding that being cut off from the grand army, and attacked at once by Jerome and Davoust, he must necessarily surrender or be destroyed. Several skirmishes ensued between Bagration's corps and those opposed to it, of which the event was dubious. However, endeavoring to extricate his army from their perilous situation, by making a circuitous march towards the south, he was attacked in front by Davoust, and repulsed ; without however suffering much, except in the failure of his purpose. Notwithstanding, he finally effected a communication with the grand Russian army : through the want, it is said, of sufficient vigour on the part of Jerome, who was sent back to his Westphalian dominions, unaccompanied even by a single soldier.

After several severe and bloody skirmishes on both sides, but without any appearance of a decisive battle, Napoleon laid a scheme of singularly audacious character. He resolved to change his line of operations from Witepsk upon the Dwina, to concentrate his army on the Dnieper, making Osera the central point of his operations ; to occupy Smolensk, and act upon their lines of communication with Moscow. His movements were conducted with the utmost skill and rapidity. Ney and Murat drove every thing before them until they ap-

proached Crasnoi, upon the 14th of August. General Neverowski had been stationed there, with about 6,000 men, a part of the garrison of Smolensk. But finding himself attacked, by a force much stronger than his own, made a brave retreat into the city, having lost 400 men.

On the same day with this skirmish, Napoleon arrived at Rasassina, and continued his march with all speed to Smolensk, where he appeared on the 16th. The sacred city of Smolensk, and key of Russia, contains about 12,600 inhabitants. It is situated on the heights of the left bank of the Dnieper. It was then surrounded by an old wall, eighteen feet thick, and seventy-five high. Raefskoi prepared to defend Smolensk at the head of 16,000 men.

Ney arrived first under the walls, and instantly rushed forward to the attack. He failed entirely, being himself wounded, and two thirds of the storming party cut off. A second attempt was to as little purpose. About the time Napoleon arrived, it was reinforced by the grand Russian army under Barclay, and the troops of Bagration. Buonaparte now expected the battle, which he so much longed for. He expected on the morning of the 17th to see the Russian army drawn up between his own front and Smolensk. Morning, however, showed the Russians in full retreat; Barclay being unwilling that the safety of his army and the empire, should be endangered even for the sacred city.

Napoleon, disappointed and incensed, commenced the attack on the city, but the place was defend-



ed with the same vigour as before. The field-guns were unable to penetrate the walls; and the French lost four or five thousand in returning repeatedly to the attack. About the middle of the night, the Russians, having evacuated the city set fire to it. Next morning the French entered Smolensk, and found nothing but blazing houses, ashes, and blood. The French troops were struck with horror; here they were in an inhospitable wilderness of swamps, and pine forests, and deserts; without provisions, and without shelter; without hospitals for the sick and dressings for the wounded; and without even a shed where the weary might repose, or the wounded might die. The surgeons were obliged to bind up the wounds with parchment, and the down that grows on the birch trees.

Hitherto the wings of Napoleon's army had had the advantage. Macdonald, in blockading Riga, kept all Courland at his disposal, and alarmed St. Petersburg. Farther south Saint Cyr gained a severe battle, at Poltosk. And Tormasoff, the Russian general, was repulsed with loss, at Gorodeczna.

Napoleon lost no time in pursuing the enemy, he detached Murat, Ney, Junot, and Davoust, in pursuit of them, who overtook the rear-guard of the Russians, at a place called Valoutina. Here a desperate action took place, the Russians reinforcing their rear-guard as fast as the French brought new bodies to attack them. Both sides fought most obstinately, and Gudin, the French general, was mortally wounded. Nothing decisive, however,

was done. The Russians moved off without losing either guns, prisoners, or baggage. It is said that the loss on each side was nearly equal.

Barclay de Tolly's defensive plan had hitherto been strictly adhered to. But they were approaching Moscow the grand, the sanctified. It became them, therefore, to make a vigorous effort, to defend the holy city. For this purpose, general Koutowsoff was nominated to the chief command of the grand army.

The Russians had raised very formidable field-works on a position naturally strong, at Borodino. And on the 5th September, (1812) the French army were opposed to them. Their first attack was successful on a redoubt in the Russian front. Both armies next day prepared for the approaching conflict ; each might now be about 120,000.

On the morning of the 5th, Buonaparte as usual addressed his men. "Soldiers" said he "here is the battle you have longed for ; it is necessary, for it brings us plenty. Let posterity say of each of you, " 'he was in that great battle under the walls of Moscow.' "

The battle commenced about 7 o'clock, by Ney's attacking the bastioned redoubt on the Russian centre, with the greatest violence, while prince Eugene made equal efforts to dislodge the enemy from the village of Semoneskoie, and the adjoining fortifications: No action was ever more keenly contested, nor at such a wasteful expenditure of human life. The fury of the French onset carried the redoubts, but the Russians, without feeling either fear

or astonishment, closed the ranks over their comrades as they fell, and rallied under the very line of the enemy's fire.

At length the Russians were commanded to retreat; and the French drew off to their original ground. Both parties sustained a dreadful loss in this sanguinary battle. The Russians had to lament the death of prince Bagration. General Toneskoff died of his wounds; and many other Russian generals were wounded. Their loss amounted to the awful sum of 15,000 killed, and more than 30,000 wounded. The French were supposed to have at least 10,000 killed, and 20,000 wounded.

On the 12th September, Buonaparte resumed his march, the army having no better guide than the direction of the high way, and the men no better food than horse-flesh and bruised wheat. In the meantime, the inhabitants of Moscow were carrying off every thing, that was valuable; the roads were crowded with files of carriages, and long columns of men, women, and children.

On the 14th September 1812, while the rear-guard of the Russians were in the act of evacuating Moscow, Napoleon reached the Mount of Salvation where the Holy City is first to be seen. His first exclamation was, "behold at last that celebrated city!" And his army raised a shout of "Moscow! Moscow!

Moscow seemed lordly and striking as ever, with the steeple of its thirty churches, and copper domes glittering in the sun; and its Kremlin, a huge mass of towers, something between a palace and a castle,

rose like a citadel out of the general mass of groves and buildings. But not a chimney sent up smoke, not a man appeared on the battlements. The tidings that a population of 250,000 persons had left their native city was incredible, and Napoleon, smiling, said, "the Russians will soon learn better the value of their capital."

The army having entered and taken quarters in the desolate city, Buonaparte stopped at the first suburb, until mid-night the soldiers were startled by the report that the city was on fire, when Napoleon rushed to the spot. When the alarm seemed at an end, he retired to the Kremlin, and availing himself of the blazing light of the Bazaar, wrote proposals of peace to the emperor, and despatched them with a Russian officer. But no answer ever returned.

Next day the flames had disappeared, but at night they broke out again with as much violence as ever. The gales of the third night extended the flames, with which no human power could contend. The Kremlin itself was found to be on fire, and Buonaparte made his escape to a palace of the czar's, called Petrowsky, in the country.

The fire raged till the 19th, with unabated violence; and then began so slacken for want of fuel. It is said four-fifths of this great city were laid in ruins. Napoleon returned to the Kremlin on the 20th.

Whether the conflagration of Moscow was, or was not, the work of count Rostopchin's (the governor of the city) vassals, has been disputed, certain it is, that several wretches were shot, who had matches under their cloaks.



## CHAPTER XIX.

*Napoleon solicits peace and is rejected—Murat defeated—battle of Mala-Yarowslavetz—battle of Wiazma—sufferings of the French—the whole French army collected at Smolensk—Napoleon continues his retreat—battle of Krasnoi—Ney's retreat—crossing and battle of the Beresina—Napoleon arrives at Paris—retreat of the Grand Army—total loss of the French.*

NAPOLÉON expected that Alexander would open some communication on the subject of the letter, which he had sent by the Russian officer, but in vain. At length, he grew impatient, and dismissed general count Lauriston with a letter to Alexander, the emperor, and the parting instruction, "I must have peace, and will sacrifice, to obtain it, all except my honour.

In the meantime, the Russians had taken up the strong position of Taroatino, for the purpose of covering the important town of Kalouga, and harassing, nay, intercepting Napoleon's line of communication with Smolensk and with Poland. Murat, at the same time, established himself in front of the Russians, for the purpose of watching their motions.

While matters were in this state, Lauriston was admitted, on the 5th October, to an interview with Koutowsoff. After some preliminary remarks, Lau-

riston entered on the business of his mission, by asking whether "this war was to last forever;" declaring that his master earnestly desired, to terminate hostilities between two great and generous nations; an armistice was agreed to, which could be broken off, on an intimation of three hours' space. Koutowsoff declared he was prohibited to treat, but he offered to send general Wolkonsky, to learn the pleasure of the czar. The emperor Alexander refused to hear of any negotiation for peace.

Whilst Murat was examining the advanced guards a Cossack having fired a carabine, irritated and induced him to announce the armistice at an end. The Russians made the first attack on the left of Murat's position, and obliged it to give way. The king of Naples, here, met with a complete defeat, and lost his cannon, his position, and his baggage, had 2,000 killed and lost 1500 prisoners. The Russians found that flayed cats, and horse flesh, were the dainties of the king of Naples kitchen.

On the 18th of October, an officer brought the intelligence of this mishap to Buonaparte; and on the 19th he left Moscow saying, "Let us march on Kalouga and woe to those who shall oppose us." Delson's division, having occupied Mala-Yarowslavetz, Koutowsoff resolved to retake it if possible. About four in the morning, the Russians rushed into the place, and, in a short time, this town was taken and retaken five times.

The result of this battle was of the last consequence, since it compelled a suffering and broken army to retreat through a country wasted by their

own advance, houses burnt, inhabitants fled, and roads broken up. Napoleon divided his army to march in three corps d'armee. Napoleon with the first, prince Eugene with the second, and Davoust led the third.

The centre and rear were attacked through the whole course by clouds of cossacks. But nothing very material happened, until the 2d of November, the French were lying within two leagues of Wiasma. The Russians attacked them in the morning, and continued still towards evening. The day was disastrous to the French, they lost about 4,000, their regiments were reduced to battalions, their battalions to companies, their companies to weak picquets.

On the 5th of November, Napoleon arrived at Dorogobrige, and on the 6th commenced that terrible Russian winter, of which the French had not yet experienced the terrors. No sun was visible, and the dense and murky fog was changed into a heavy fall of snow in large and broad flakes, which at once chilled and blinded the soldiers. Unheard of disasters followed, roads and fields disappeared, holes and ravines became graves for thousands of those unhappy and ill fated beings.

A strong wind also began to arise, and hurl the snow from the earth, as well as from the heavens, into dizzy eddies around the soldiers' heads. Many were hurled to the earth in this manner, where the snow furnished them with an instant grave, and concealed their ghastly remains until next summer. Numerous heaps formed in the snow, of the bodies

of those who had preceded, pointed out the track, and, at the same time, intimated what they might expect.

Nevertheless, in the midst of this unheard of distress, they considered Napoleon as the *palladium* that was to save them. His presence frequently electrified the most dejected, and seldom failed to excite a momentary enthusiasm similar to that of the days of victory. The word Smolensk also echoed from man to man, served as a talisman to keep up their spirits.

At length the longed for Smolensk was visible, but the promised quarters were no where to be found; for, the Russians, as we said before, had burnt the city, and the miserable sheds proved but a poor shelter, from the inclemency of such weather. Napoleon allowed his army, which was now entirely collected, five days to consume such supplies as were to be found in Smolensk, and to prepare for the terrors of a farther retreat.

The operations in eastern Prussia, and in Lithuania, upon the Bug, in which Napoleon was not personally concerned, must necessarily be passed over; suffice it to say, they met with several severe disasters.

Napoleon's army was now reduced to about 40,000 men, which he divided into four corps, that were to leave Smolensk, placing a day's interval betwixt the march of each. He himself led the van on the evening of the 13th November.

Koutowssoff also put his army in motion towards Krasnoi, upon a parallel line with that of Buona-



parte, so as to place Napoleon's line of advance at his mercy, whenever he should think proper to assail it. Napoleon thought fit to halt at Krasnoi, until his other divisions should come up. In the mean time, Miloradovitch attacked the second division, under Eugene, and almost entirely destroyed it. However, on the 17th, Eugene reached the head quarters of his father-in-law; and when united they did not exceed 15,000.

At Krasnoi, Koutowsoff opened a distant cannonade, and after some severe assaults, the French left on this fatal field, forty-five pieces of cannon, upwards of six thousand prisoners, and a great number slain and wounded.

To complete their losses, Ney's division was betwixt the whole Russian army and Napoleon. Ney left Smolensk on the 17th of November at the head of seven or eight thousand men. They advanced without much interruption till they reached Krasnoi, where they saw all the relics of a bloody action. A little beyond this lay Miloradovitch, at the head of a great force, and a thick mist which covered the ground, occasioned Ney's column to advance under the Russian batteries before being aware of the danger.

A single officer appeared, and invited Ney to capitulate. "A marshal of France never surrenders," was the reply. After repeated endeavours to cut a passage through the Russian troops, Ney, seeing that the general fate of his army was no longer doubtful, selected 4,000 of the best men, and under shelter of the night nearly reached Syrokoverria.

Here he found a place in the river Dnieper frozen over, though so thinly that it bent beneath the steps of the soldiers. Some waggons loaded with the sick and wounded last attempted to pass; but the ice broke with them, and he heavy plunge and stifled moaning apprised their companions of their fate. The Cossacks as usual took possession of the artillery and baggage.

Ney arrived on the 20th of November, and Napoleon hailed him with the title "the bravest of the brave." All Napoleon's army now united, scarcely amounted to 12,000. There were besides, perhaps, 30,000 stragglers.

Napoleon, having arrived at the river Beresina, determined that a passage should be attempted, at a place Studzianka, where the stream was only fifty-five fathoms across, and six feet deep. Here Napoleon's hope was revived by the success of Victor and Oudinot. They forced Wittgenstein to abandon Borisoff, a town a little below Studzianka. Napoleon, having thrown over a bridge, pushed his troops across the river, on the 26th and 27th; but the passage was very slow, for the number of stragglers and the quantity of baggage was immense.

Hitherto Napoleon had exceeded his most sanguine expectation; but the scene which follows, exhibits one of the wildest and most horrible, that war can picture. Tchitchagoff and Wittgenstein resolved upon a joint attack upon both banks of the river at once. The French were victorious on the right bank, it was otherwise on the left. Victor who commanded the French rear-guard amounting perhaps

to 8000 or 10,000, was prepared to cover the retreat over the bridges. Behind this defensive line were many thousands of stragglers, men women, children, domestics, the aged and the infants, were seen among the wretched mass. Waggon, carts, wains, and even the artillery, were mixed in confusion upon the shore.

Such was the condition of matters at the bridge, when Wittgenstein attacked Victor, and the balls of the Russians began to fall among the disordered mass. The crowd rushed like distracted beings towards the bridge. In this horrid scene, the weak and helpless either shrunk back from the fray, or were thrust over the bridge, crushed under carriages, cut down with sabres, or trampled under foot. And, as if the Heavens meant to match their wrath with man, a burrican arose, and added horrors to a scene already so dreadful. About mid-day the artillery bridge broke down, and multitudes were forced into the water. This dreadful scene continued till dark, when Victor, with the remainder of his troops, crossed also. At day-break the French engineer, General Ebli, set fire to the bridge. All that remained on the other side became prisoners. The Russian report, concerning the bodies, which were collected and burnt as soon as the thaw permitted, states, that upwards of 36,000 were found in the Beresina.

On the 29th November 1812, the emperor left the fatal banks of the Beresina, at the head of an army more disorganised than ever. They pushed on without any regular disposition, having no more

vanguard, centre or rear, than a flock of sheep. To outstrip the Russians was their only desire. On the 5th he arrived at Smorgoni, here, he was reinforced by Loison. Having arranged the order of march to Wilna, Napoleon determined on his departure for Paris, that he might create new resources. Three sledges, the whole retinue were provided; one of which was for himself and Caulaincourt.

On the 6th the emperor abandoned the army to its fate, and travelling rapidly and in secrecy on the 14th he was at Dresden, and on the 18th, about mid-night he arrived at Paris.

We now return to the grand army, of which the chief command had been delegated to Murat. Their sufferings were dreadful; cold, famine, and disorder, made terrible havoc among them. The 6th December, being most intensely cold, the mercury being 27 or 28 degrees below zero, many dropped down and expired in silence, the blood of others gushed from their eyes and mouth and the wretches sunk down on the gory snow, at length, were relieved by death. In this horrible retreat 20,000 recruits had joined the army since crossing the Beresina, where, including the corps of Oudinot and Victor, they amounted to 80,000. But of this sum one half perished betwixt the Beresina and the walls of Wilna.

In such a plight did the army arrive at Wilna, and before 12 hours, they were disturbed by a distant cannonade, which came nigher and nigher—then by the fire of musketry. Every alarm was in



vain ; it seemed as if the soldiers were weary of life, and contented to perish like the Jews in the wilderness, with their food between their teeth.

At length, the Russians forced their way into the town by one access, whilst the French left it by another, directing their flight towards Knowo, with the most valuable part of their baggage. In their flight they lost immense treasures ; but the pursuit of the Russians seemed to cease after they had crossed the Niemen on the ice.

It is not worth while to trace further the flight of those miserable beings. We know not whether to wonder most at the daring audacity of the expedition, or the terrific catastrophe. The total loss, as stated by Boutourlin, amounted to 450,000. And thus ended the memorable Russian expedition, the first of Napoleon's undertakings in which he was utterly defeated.

## CHAPTER XX.

*Napoleon receives the congratulations of all the public Functionaries—Napoleon's great and successful exertions to recruit his army—Prussia declares war against France—battle of Lutzen—battle of Bautzen—an armistice signed on the 4th June—broken off on the 10th August—the Allies attack Dresden—battle of Culm—singular conflict on the heights of Peterswald.*

ON the morning succeeding Napoleon's return, which was like the sudden appearance of one dropped from the heavens, Paris resounded with the news. The grumblers suppressed their murmurs, and the mourners dried their tears. The safe return of Napoleon was a sufficient cure for the loss of 450,000 men, and served to assuage the sorrows of as many widows and orphans. The emperor convoked the council of state. He imputed all his failures to the snow. "All had gone well" said he, "Moscow was in our power—every obstacle was overcome—the conflagration of the city had produced no change on the flourishing condition of the French army; but winter has been productive of a general calamity, in consequence of which the army had sustained very great losses."

The most exaggerated praise of Napoleon's great qualities, the most unlimited devotion to his service, the most implicit confidence in his wisdom, were

the themes of the public functionaries. All was bustle, alertness, exertion, and anticipation.

Looking towards Spain, Napoleon saw his affairs there in a better posture than he could have expected, after the battle of Salamanca, and the capture of Madrid. His army in Spain at this time amounted to 270,000, more than sufficient, he thought to oppose the enemy there. He withdrew, accordingly, one hundred and fifty skeletons of battalions, which he meant to make the means of disciplining his young conscripts. The first Ban of National Guards, he converted in regular soldiers, sailors into corps of artillery. He procured a decree of the Senate, for a conscription of 350,000.

The wonderful energies of Napoleon's mind, and the influence which he could exert over the minds of others, were never so striking as at this period of his reign. He had returned to the seat of his empire at a dreadful crisis, and in a most calamitous condition. Yet he seemed but to stamp on the earth, and armed legions arose at his call. In the month of April, his army increased to 350,000 men, in addition to the great garrisons in Dantzic, Thorn, Modlin, Zamosk, Czenstochau, Custrin &c. He had, besides, an active levy of forces in Italy, and a large army in Spain.

Murat, having hastily disposed of the troops in the various Prussian garrisons recently enumerated, suddenly left the army upon the 16th January, 1813. Napoleon, incensed at his conduct, appointed Eugene in his place. On the 16th March, the king of Prussia declared war against France. Alexan-

der and he having previously entered into a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive.

The allied army was collected towards Leipsic, and lay in Napoleon's road to that city. Several skirmishes of minor importance preceded the battle of Lutzen. The French had to lament the loss of marshal Besieres, who was killed in a defile, near Boserne, by a cannon-shot.

On the 2d May, near Lutzen, Blucher made an attack on the centre of the French under Ney. The fury of the attack was irresistible, and in despite of a most obstinate defence, the allies obtained possession of Haya, the point on which the centre of the French army rested. The combat was desperate and deplorable, the more so, as the flower of the Prussian youth, which had left their universities to support the cause of national honor and freedom, fought on the one side; while, the young men of Paris, many of them of the best rank, fought on the other; and both paid ample tribute to the carnage of the day. The battle lasted for several hours, at length, the allies gave way without further loss than the carnage sustained in the field of battle. They lost 20,000 killed and wounded. The loss of the French was very severe.

Arriving at Bautzen on the 21st, the emperor in person reconnoitred the formidable position of the allies. After various manœuvres, and desperate exertions, the French remained masters of the field. The whole day of the 22d of May was spent in attacks upon the rear of the allies, which were always repelled by their coolness and military con-



duct. On this occasion Napoleon lost all patience. "You creep, scoundrel," addressing a general officer, "what, no results after so much carnage—not a gun—not a prisoner?—these people will not leave me so much as a nail." In this battle the allies lost about 10,000 in killed and wounded, and the French about 15,000. In this battle, Napoleon lost two distinguished generals and dear friends, Bruyeres and Duroc.

On the day preceding that sanguinary battle, an armistice had been proposed by count Nesselrode, and on the 4th of June it was signed.

After various attempts on the part of Austria to effect a peace, the 10th of August, the day which concluded the armistice, had expired, and Austria passed from the friendship of France, into the federation of the allies.

At no moment during the armistice had the hopes of peace been so probable, as to suspend for a moment the most active preparations for war on both sides. In the beginning of August, Napoleon had assembled about 250,000 in Saxony and Silesia. The grand army of the Allies under Schwarzenberg, amounted to 200,000.

On the 26th, at day-break, the allies advanced on Dresden in six columns under a tremendous fire, and had nearly carried it, when Buonaparte, returning from pursuing the Prussians, came up for its relief. On the 27th, the battle was renewed amid torrents of rain, and a tempest of wind. After severe fighting on both sides, the allies were obliged to give way. They were pursued by the

French, and lost, what had of late been unusual, a great number of prisoners, to the amount, according to Boutourlin, of from 13,000 to 15,000. The Russians had to lament the death of General Moreau, a distinguished French general, who had been induced to leave America, and join the allies.

Next morning Napoleon was again on horseback, directing his victorious troops in pursuit of the enemy. He, however, became very much indisposed, and was carried back to Dresden. A corps d'armée, of about 30,000 had been entrusted to the conduct of general Vandamme. He had advanced as far as Peterswald, forcing before him a column of Russians, commanded by count Ostermann. On the morning of the 22d, Vandamme had the temerity to descend the hill from Peterswald, to the village of Culm. He was within half a league of Toplitz, where were the persons of the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia, and the whole depot of the head-quarters of the allies. All seemed within his grasp, when of a sudden count Ostermann halted, like a wild boar brought to bay. His troops were few, but excellent, he gave them to understand, that the safety of their father (as the Russians affectionately term the emperor) depended on their maintaining their ground. They stood firm as a grove of pines opposed to the tempest, and were reinforced by Barclay de Tolly, and others.

Next day as Vandamme was retreating towards the heights of Peterswald, a most singular accident took place. A corp d'armee of the allies, evading the pursuit of St. Cyr, at the head of the hill, when

the French were ascending, and each, having mistaken notions of the other's design, determined to cut his way through. The two armies were hurled on each other like two conflicting mobs. All was a mass of confusion, the Prussian generals finding themselves in the middle of the French—the French officers in the centre of the Russians. Generals Vandamme, Haro, and Guyot, were made prisoners, besides a great loss in killed and wounded.

CHAPTER XXI.

*Proceedings in the North of Germany—Napoleon retreats to Leipsic—number of the French and allied forces—battle of Leipsic—battle of Hanau—Napoleon arrives at Paris on the 9th November—affairs in Spain—preparations of Napoleon against the invasion of France—his address to the National Guard.*

NAPOLEON not being present at the battles of Gross-Beeren, Katzbach, and Dennewitz, we will pass them over by remarking, that the French were defeated, that they were no longer the invincibles they were once esteemed; or at least, that when they worked miracles, it was only when Buonaparte was at their head.

Napoleon, baffled in every enterprize, lay from the 11th to the 14th at Duben, concentrating his own forces, waiting for news of the allies' motions, and remaining in a state of uncertainty and inactivity. His consultations with his best generals ended without adopting any fixed determination. A succession of failures had exasperated their tempers. Napoleon represented them as being indifferent, lukewarm, awkward, and therefore unfortunate. "The general officers," said he "desired nothing but repose, and that at all rates."

On the other hand they pleaded guilty of desiring repose; but asked which was to blame, the horse or his rider, when the over-ridden animal broke



down with fatigue? At length, a retreat upon Leipsic was resolved upon.

The last act of the grand drama, so far as the scene lay in Germany, was now fast approaching. During the two first weeks of October, nothing decisive had been done; but after the 14th, the corps of the allies, as well as those of the French, streamed towards Leipsic as to a common centre.

The emperor reached Leipsic early on the 15th of October, (1813) and was informed that his whole force would be under the walls in 24 hours. The number of men who engaged the next morning, was said to be 136,000 French, the allies are rated at 230,000. Napoleon himself visited all the posts, gave the last orders, and distributed eagles to the new levies, which had not yet received these military emblems. The soldiers were made to swear never to abandon their eagles, and the emperor concluded by saying, in a loud voice, "Yonder lies the enemy, swear that you will rather die than permit France to be dishonored." "We swear it," exclaimed the battalions, "long live the emperor!"

At day-break on the 16th October the battle begun. During the whole of this day the thunder of war urged most dreadfully, at night-fall the bloody work ceased as if by mutual consent. Three cannon-shot, fired as a signal to the more distant points, intimated that the conflict was ended for the time, and the armies retired to rest in the very positions which they had occupied the night before.

Retreat became inevitable; yet, how to accom-

plish it through the narrow streets of a narrow city ; how to pass more than 100,000 men over a single bridge, while double that number were pressing on their rear, was a problem which even Buonaparte could not solve. In this perplexity, he sent general Mehrfeldt (whom he had captured) with propositions for a treaty, with the emperor of Austria. The allies, however, had engaged themselves solemnly to each other, that they would enter into no treaty with him while an individual of the French army remained in Germany.

The 17th, was spent in making preparations on both sides.

At 8 o'clock on the 18th October, the battle was renewed with tenfold fury. In the afternoon a Saxon brigade, in the midst of the action, deserted to the allies. Although the French army kept its ground most valiantly during the whole of this tremendous day, there was no prospect of their being able to sustain themselves any longer around or in Leipsic. Accordingly, a retreat was commenced in the night. In the morning the allies pursued them with all the animation of victory. About 11 o'clock, the bridge was blown up, that the allies might not take possession of it. Many of the French were killed and drowned. And about 25,000 received quarter from the enemy, and were made prisoners. The quantity of baggage was immense.

On the 22d of October, Napoleon reached Erfurt, a convenient rallying point, he passed nearly two days there, and reorganised his troops. The reassembled force amounted only to about 80,000.

Upon the 30th, the Bavarians had occupied the large wood of Lambar, that they might intercept his retreat. A sharp action took place, and the Bavarians were worsted with the loss of upwards of 10,000. The French lost about 6000.

On the 9th of November, Napoleon arrived at Paris, here his presence was much required, the temper of the public was by no means tranquil. The rupture of the armistice seemed to be the date of his declension. Nine battles had been fought since that period, including the action at Culm, which, in its results, is well entitled to the name. Of them, Buonaparte only gained two—those of Dresden and Hanau.

At the conclusion of the year 1813, only the following places, beyond the Rhine, remained in the hands of the French;—Hamburg, Magdeburg, Wittenberg, Custrin, Glogau, with the citadels of Erfurt and of Wurtzburg.

Napoleon's affairs in Spain and Italy were equally disastrous, this year. The battle of Vittoria had entirely destroyed the authority of Joseph Buonaparte, and Napoleon himself resembled a furious madman holding a hot iron until it has scorched to the bone.

On the 14th November, the Orange flag was hoisted at the Hague and at Amsterdam, amid the ancient acclamations of "Orange boven" (up with the Orange). At Rotterdam, the Dutch patriots, showing the Orange cockade which they wore, addressed the French general in these words:—"You may guess from these colours the purpose which

has brought us hither; you who are now the weakest, know that we are the strongest—and we the strongest, know that you are the weakest. You will act wisely to depart from this place in quiet.”

The reply of general Le Brun was that of a Frenchman, seldom willing to be outdone in politeness;—“I have expected the summons for some time, and am very willing to accede to your proposal, and take my departure immediately.”

While these scenes were passing in the vicinity of France, the emperor was using every effort to bring forward in defence of her territory, a force in some degree corresponding to the ideas which he desired men should entertain of the great nation. He distributed as many forces as he had along the line of the Rhine, unmoved by the opinions of those who deemed them insufficient in number to defend so wide a stretch of frontier.

The emperor of Austria resolved once more to offer terms of peace to the emperor of France; but Buonaparte was as unyielding as ever.

On the 23d January, 1814, a scene took place that showed Napoleon's own consciousness of approaching danger, he called out and armed the National Guard of Paris, a force to which he would not have appealed, save in the case of the last necessity. He appeared among them with his empress and his infant child, and in a tone which penetrated every bosom, announced that, being about to place himself at the head of his army, he committed to the faith of the citizens of Paris the security of his capital, his wife, and his child.



## CHAPTER XXII.

*Strength of the allied forces and those of the French—battle of Brienne—conflict at Rothiere—battle of Champeaubert—congress at Chatillon—difficulties of Buonaparte—battle of Craonne—conflict at Laon—battle of Arcis.*

ON the 25th Napoleon left that abode of royalty, to which he was doomed not to return until he had undergone strange changes of fortune.

The allies counting on the cost of a retreat amidst all the dangers incident to passing in disorder through a country in the possession of the enemy, marched slowly and undecidedly. But Napoleon, as firmly determined in his purpose as the allies were doubtful, knowing himself to be the soul of his army, was bold and active. The allies had presented in the grand army a front of 97,000, marshal Blucher one of 40,000, affording a disposable force of 137,000. To oppose this, he, who so lately had led half a million of men to the Vistula, and 300,000 to the banks of the Elbe, could not now muster, for the protection of the capital of his own empire, a disposable force of more than 70,000 men.

The defensive war had no doubt considerable advantages to one who knew so well how to use them.

The highways, by which the allies must advance, formed a half or a quarter circle of rays converging on Paris. A much smaller army might, therefore, oppose a large one. With this advantage of collocation to balance a great inferiority in numerical force, Buonaparte advanced to play for the most momentous stake ever disputed, with a degree of military skill which has never been matched.

Arrived at Chalons on the 26th January, Buonaparte took the command of such an army as he had been able to assemble. He wished to attack Blucher before his communication with Prince Schwarzenberg, that he might have the advantage of combating them singly. Accordingly, on the 29th of January, Napoleon attacked the enemy at the village of Brienne, near the source of the Aube. Here a sanguinary battle was fought from house to house, Napoleon's own safety was compromised in the *melée*. Men were killed by his side, and he was obliged to draw his sword in his own defence. The result of the battle of Brienne was indecisive. Napoleon's principal object which was to divide Blucher from the grand army, had altogether failed.

On the 1st February, Blucher, strongly reinforced from the grand army, prepared in his turn to assume the offensive. Blucher attacked the line of the French on three points, assailing at once the villages of La Rothiere, Dieuville, and Chaumont. The conflict was hard fought during the whole day, but in the evening the French were repulsed on all points, and Buonaparte was compelled to retreat.

across the Aube, after losing 4000 prisoners, and no less than seventy-three guns.

The army under Blucher, now all intent upon the advance to Paris, were marching with careless haste through an impracticable country, and had suffered such large intervals to take place betwixt their divisions, as to expose them to be attacked in detail.

Buonaparte embraced this opportunity, and by a forced march, on the 10th of February, fell on the central division of Alsufieff, at Champeaubert, surrounded, defeated, and totally dispersed them, taking their artillery, and 2000 prisoners, while the remainder of the division fled into the woods, and attempted to escape individually.

The advanced guard under Sacken was next attacked and repulsed. Blucher is next attacked, and obliged to retreat. This success was the cause of great rejoicing at Paris. Long columns of prisoners moved through the streets, banners were displayed; the cannon thundered, the press replied, and the pulpit joined, in extolling and magnifying the dangers which the citizens escaped, and the merits of their preserver.

While Napoleon was struggling, in the campaign of Paris, for his very existence as a monarch, events were taking place on the frontiers, by all which his fate was more or less influenced, and in almost all of them unfavourably. In consequence of a treaty with Austria, Murat declared himself in favour of the allies. Augerau was compelled to abandon the country of Gex and Franche Comté;

and the North of Germany and Flanders were equally lost to France, and French interest.

Parties too were forming in different parts of the empire; which endangered his fortune and his life.

The British forces, under the duke of Wellington, were gaining brilliant successes in the south of France.

A congress had been opened at Chatillon on the 4th of February, for the purpose of treating with Napoleon, but without coming to any agreement, it was broken up on the 10th of March.

The situation of Buonaparte at this time was truly distressing. If he advanced on the grand army of the allies which he had in front, there were every likelihood that they would retire before him, wasting his force in skirmishes. On the contrary, if he moved his force against one part, the other part would march upon Paris. Thus, he could make no exertion upon the one side, without endangering his capital on the other.

After weighing all the disadvantages on either side, Napoleon determined to turn his army against Blucher. He left Oudinot, Macdonald, and Gerard in front of the grand army. Accordingly, on the morning of the 7th of March, the French attacked Blucher's army, which was strongly posted betwixt the village of Craonne and the town of Laon. The assault was met by a defence equally obstinate and the contest became one of the best sustained and most bloody during the war.

Towards evening the Russians were ordered to withdraw, and unite with the Prussian army on the



splendid position of Laon. There were no guns lost or prisoners made.

We may see the determined character of Buonaparte in the following exclamation, "I see," says he, "this war is an abyss without a bottom, but I am resolved to be the last whom it shall devour."

Only the interval of one day between the bloody battle of Craonne and that of Laon. On the 9th, availing himself of a thick mist, Napoleon pushed his columns of attack to the very foot of the eminence upon which Laon is situated, but was repelled by a tremendous fire from terraces, vineyards, windmills, and every point of advantage.

Upon the 10th, at four in the morning, just as Buonaparte, arising before day-break, was calling for his horse, two dragoons were brought before him, with the unpleasing intelligence that the enemy had made a *hourra* upon Marmont, cut to pieces, taken, or dispersed his whole division. On the 11th he withdrew from before Laon, having been foiled in all his attempts, and having lost thirty guns, and nearly 10,000 men. The allies suffered comparatively little, as they fought under cover.

Nor were the marshals Oudinot and Gerard, in front of the grand allied army, more fortunate. They were defeated at Bar-sur-Aube, and forced to retreat upon the great road to Paris.

Napoleon being at Rheims, on the 15th and 16th of March, was alarmed by the news of the loss of the battle of Bar. He, therefore, left Rheims, on the 17th, and on the morning of the 20th took possession of Arcis. Here a bloody battle ensued, and

Napoleon as usual showed the most heroic courage, he drew, his sword threw himself among the broken cavalry, called on them to remember their former victories, and checked the enemy by an impetuous charge; he was in personal danger from the lance of a Cossack, the thrust of which was averted by his aide-de-camp, Girardin. Arcis was repeatedly and desperately attacked by the allies, but the French made good their position, night alone separated the combatants, by inducing the allies to desist from the attack.

Next day Napoleon commenced a retreat, the direction of which was doomed to prove the crisis of his fate. He retired along both sides of the Aube.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

*Napoleon passes to the rear of the allies—the allies advance upon Paris—attack it on the 30th of March—state of parties in Paris—the allies enter Paris—proceedings of Napoleon.*

NAPOLÉON'S affairs were drawing nigh a crisis. The manœuvres of Schwartzenberg and Blücher tended evidently to form a junction. It would have been frenzy to wait till they both closed upon him. Two courses, therefore, remained; either to draw back within the closing circle, and retreating before them until he had collected his forces, making a stand under the walls of Paris, or on the contrary, to march eastward, and operate on the rear of the allies, and on their lines of communication. He chose the latter, with the expectation of being reinforced by the warlike peasantry of Alsace and French Compté. Marmont and Mortier were left in front of the allies, that they might retard their advance. They were overpowered, however, by the allies, and obliged to retreat under the walls of the capital. The allies, gaining advantages at every step, moved on with such expedition, that when, on the 27th of March they took up their head-quarters at Collomiers, they had marched upwards of seventy miles in three days. On the 28th the military sovereigns and their victorious armies were in sight of that metropolis, whose ruler and his soldiers had

so often lorded in theirs; of that Paris, which unsatisfied with her high rank among the cities of Europe, had formed constant war until all should be subjected to her empire; of that grand city, who boasted herself first in arms and in science, the misfortune and example of the civilized world, the depository of all that is wonderful in the fine arts, and the dictatress as well of taste as of law to continental Europe.

Maria Louisa and almost all the civil authorities of Buonaparte's government, having left the city, taking with them the crown jewels, and much of the public treasure; Joseph Buonaparte, on the morning of the 29th published a proclamation, assuring the citizens of Paris that "he would remain with them."

Between three and four o'clock on the next eventful morning, the drums beat to arms, and the National Guard assembled. The whole of the troops, including many volunteers, who actively engaged in the defence of the city might be between 10,000 and 20,000.

About eight o'clock, the Parisians became sensible, from the succession of musket-shots, which sounded like the detached pattering of large drops of rain before a thunder-storm, that the work of destruction was already commenced. After various attacks and repulses on both sides, the emperor Alexander proposed fair terms to Joseph, provided he surrendered the city before the barriers were forced. An armistice was granted, deputies were appointed on both sides, to adjust the terms of sur-



render. The French troops were permitted to retire from Paris unmolested, and the metropolis was next day to be delivered up to the allied sovereigns, to whose generosity it was recommended.

Thus ended the assault of Paris, after a bloody action, in which the defenders lost upwards of 4000 killed and wounded, and the allies, who had to storm well-defended batteries, redoubts, and entrenchments, perhaps twice the number.

Upon the night after the assault, many secret conclaves were held in the city of Paris. Parties of Buonapartists, Revolutionists and Royalists, the last mentioned were seen, on the morning of the 31st, in groups in the place Louis Quince, the garden of the Tuileries, and other public places. They distributed the proclamations of the allies, and raised the long-forgotten cry of *Vive le Roi!* Whole picquets began to adopt the white, instead of the tricoloured cockade; yet the voices were far from being unanimous, and on many points parties of different principles met and skirmished together in the streets.

But the tendency to discord was diverted and the attention of the Parisians, of all classes and opinions, suddenly fixed upon the imposing and terrible spectacle of the armies of the allies, which now began to enter the city. All Paris seemed to be assembled and concentrated in one spot—one spring evidently directed their motions. They thronged around the monarchs, with the most unanimous shouts of “*Vive l'Empereur Alexander!—Vive le Roi de Prusse!*” mingled with the loyal exclama-

tions, “ *Vive le Roi—Vive Louis XVIII! Vivent les Bourbons!*” The procession lasted for several hours, and after making the circuit of half Paris, the monarchs halted in the Champs Elysees, and the troops passed in review before them as they were dismissed to their quarters in the city.

When the enthusiasm attending the entrance of the allies began to subside, the perilous question occurred to those who had embarked in this new revolution, where were Napoleon and his army. That terrible and evil spirit, who had so long haunted their very dreams, and who had been well termed the night-mare of Europe, was not yet conjured down. All trembled for the consequence of his returning suddenly in full force. But their fears were without foundation. He proceeded eastward from Vitry at St. Disier. Here he was joined by Caulaincourt, who informed him of the dissolution of the Congress at Chatillon. On the 24th March, Napoleon halted at Doulevant to concentrate his forces, and gain intelligence, for he expected that the grand army would turn, and pursue him; and it was not until the 27th, that he learned the real state of the case; that both the allied armies had marched to Paris; and that the cavalry with which he had skirmished, were 10,000 men under Winzingerode, left by the allies as a curtain to screen their motions, and engage his attention. Every word of this news had a sting in it. To hasten after the allies to surprise them if possible, ere the cannon on Montmartre were yet silenced was the most urgent thought that ever actuated the mind even of

Napoleon, so accustomed to high and desperate risks. On the 29th March, he reached Troyes, the Imperial Guard having marched that day fifteen leagues.

On the 30th, Napoleon left Troyes in a post-carriage, and travelled on at full speed before his army, with a very slight attendance. On arriving at the inn, called La Cour de France, he met general Belliard, with his Cavalry, and the fatal intelligence. Leaping from his carriage, Napoleon turned back with Belliard, exclaiming,—“what means this? Why here with your cavalry, Belliard? And where are the enemy?”—“At the gates of Paris.”—“And the army?”—“It is following me.”—“Where are my wife and son? Where Marmont? Where Mortier?”—“The empress set out for Rambouillet, and thence for Orleans. The marshals are busy completing their arrangements at Paris.” Napoleon, when he had despatched Caulaincourt to Paris, no longer to negotiate, but to receive and submit to such terms as the allied sovereigns might be inclined to impose upon him, returned to Fontainebleau the same night.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

*The Senate decrees the forfeiture of Napoleon—Napoleon abdicates the throne of France—the commanders have an interview with the emperor Alexander—the terms granted Buonaparte—remarks on the policy of these terms—general desertion of Napoleon—the empress Maria Louisa returns to her father's protection—death of Josephine.*

WE now return to the transactions in Paris. The emperor Alexander, the king of Prussia, and prince Schwartzemberg, also general Pozzo di Borgo, Nesselrode, Lichtenstein, the duke Dalberg, baron Louis, the abbe de Pradt, and others, were met in the hotel of Talleyrand, where the principal royalists waited on them to crave an audience. Three points were discussed. 1. The possibility of a peace with Napoleon, upon sufficient guarantees. 2. The plan of a regency. 3. The restoration of the Bourbons. After various debates, it was at length agreed, that the third proposition,—the restoration of the ancient family, and the ancient limits,—should be the terms adopted for the settlement of France. Therefore, on the 2d and 3d April, the Senate declared and decreed, 1st, that Napoleon Buonaparte had forfeited the throne, and the right of inheritance established in his family. 2d, that the people and army of France were disengaged and freed from the oath of fidelity, which they had made to Napoleon and his constitution.

In the night betwixt the 2d and 3d of April, Cau-



laincourt returned from his mission to Paris, and reported the transaction to Buonaparte. On the 4th, Buonaparte reviewed a part of his troop, addressed them on the display of the white colours, and that he intended to march on the capital, to punish the traitors. He was answered by shouts of "Paris, Paris!" and had no reason to fear that the troops would hesitate to follow him in his last effort. But after the review was over, Berthier, Ney, Macdonald, Caulaincourt, Oudinot, Bertrand and other officers of the highest rank, followed him into his apartment, and dissuaded him from the attempt, and persuaded him to abdicate the crown.

With considerable reluctance, and after long debate, Napoleon wrote the following words:—

"The allied powers having proclaimed that the emperor Napoleon is the sole obstacle to the re-establishment of peace in Europe, the emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he is ready to descend from the throne, to quit France, and even to relinquish life, for the good of the country, which is inseparable from the rights of his son, from those of the regency in the person of the empress, and from the maintenance of the laws of the empire. Done at our Palace of Fontainebleau, 4th April, 1814."

When the terms were in the act of being adjusted, the marshals desired to know upon what stipulations they were to insist on Napoleon's personal behalf. "Upon none—" said Buonaparte. Do what you can to obtain the best terms for France; for myself I ask nothing."

When the marshals arrived at Paris, they instantly obtained their introduction to the emperor Alexander, who received them with his usual courtesy. "On the general subject of their mission," he said "he could not treat but in concert with his allies." But he enlarged on the subject of Napoleon personally. He mentioned the plan, which was afterwards adopted ; that Buonaparte should retain the Imperial title over a small territory, with an ample revenue, guards, and other emblems of dignity. "The place," continued the emperor of Russia, "may be Elba, or some other island."

When the marshals returned, he listened to the news of the failure of their negotiation, as a termination which he had expected.

After a night's consideration, the fallen chief took this resolution, and despatched Caulaincourt and Macdonald with an unconditional abdication of the empire. The document was the same as the former, except, that he renounced for himself and his heirs the throne of France.

Notwithstanding his having adopted this course, he continued to nourish thoughts of breaking it off. Having reviewed his old guard ; he retired into the palace, and summoned Oudinot before him. "May I depend on the adhesion of the troops?"—Oudinot replied in the negative, and reminded Napoleon that he had abdicated.—"Ay, but on conditions," said Napoleon—"Soldiers do not understand conditions," said the marshal ; "they look on your power as terminated."—"Then that is all over," said Napoleon ; "let us wait for the news from Paris."

Macdonald, Caulaincourt, and Ney, soon afterwards arrived at Fontainebleau, with a treaty containing such terms as never were granted to a dethroned monarch, and which have little chance to be conceded to such a one in future, while the portentous consequences are preserved by history. By these conditions, Buonaparte was to remain emperor, but, his sway was to be limited to the island of Elba. He was to be recognised as one of the heads of Europe—was to be allowed body-guards, and a navy on a scale suitable to the limits of his dominion, with a revenue of six millions of francs, over and above the revenues of the Isle of Elba. Two million and a half were also assigned in pensions to his brothers, Josephine, and the other members of his family. It was well argued, that if Buonaparte deserved such advantageous terms of retirement, it was injustice to dethrone him. Nor were the other points more reconcilable with sound policy. The name, dignity, military authority, and absolute power of an emperor, conferred on the potentate of such Liliputian Domains, were ludicrous if it was supposed that Napoleon would remain quiet in his retreat, and hazardous if he should seek the means of again agitating Europe.

The other stipulations of this extraordinary treaty divided a portion of revenue secured to Napoleon among the members of his family. The most rational was that which settled upon Maria Louisa and her son the duchies of Parma, Piacentia, and Guastalla, in full sovereignty.

It was not till the bad effects of this singular treat-

ty had been experienced that men enquired why and on what principle it was at first conceded. A great personage has been mentioned as its original author, possessed of many good and highly honourable qualities, and a steady and most important member of the great European confederacy. It is doing the memory of the emperor Alexander no injury to suppose, that popular applause,—the contagious air of Paris,—the shouts,—the flattery,—the success to a point hitherto un hoped for,—the wish to drown unkindness of every sort, and to spread a feast from which no one should rise discontented,—the desire, so sum all up in one word, to show *magnanimity* in the hour of success, seem to have laid Alexander's heart more open than the rules of wisdom or prudence ought to have permitted. There was one power whose representative foresaw the evils which such a treaty might occasion, and remonstrated against them. But the evil was done, and the particulars of the treaty adjusted, before Lord Castle-reagh came to Paris, and the English government became a party to the treaty no farther than by acceding to it so far as the territorial arrangements were concerned.

Misfortunes were now accumulating so fast around Napoleon, that they seemed of force sufficient to break the most stubborn spirit. On every side the French officers, at well as soldiers, were leaving his service ; he had no longer the power of departing from the palace in safety. The bosom friends, courtiers, dependants, and even the domestics of the unfortunate Napoleon, dropt off, like



leaves from the fading tree, under different pretexts to give in their adhesion to the Bourbons, and provide for their own fortune in the new world which had commenced at Paris.

The family connections, and relatives of Napoleon, as well as his familiar friends, were separated from him in this general wreck. We mentioned before, that several members of Napoleon's administration, with Maria Louisa, fled from the approaching action. They halted at Blois, where count Schouwalow, one of the Austrian ministers, arrived to take the empress under his protection. Shortly afterwards, the emperor of Austria visited his daughter and her son, then at Rambouillet, and took them under his own protection.

We must not omit to add to this tale of calamity, the death of Josephine, the former wife of Buonaparte. She was amply provided for by the treaty of Fontainebleau, but did not survive to reap any benefit from the provision. She was buried on the 3d of June, at the village of Ruel.

We cannot close this chapter, without adverting for a moment to the mass of misfortunes with which Buonaparte was overwhelmed at this crisis. All that three years before seemed inalienable from his person, was now reversed. The victor was defeated, the monarch was dethroned, the ransomer of prisoners was in captivity, the general was deserted by his soldiers, the master abandoned by his domestics, the brother parted from his brethren, the husband severed from his wife, and the father torn from his only child.

## TCHAPER XXV.

*Napoleon leaves Fontainebleau—expressions of popular dislike towards Napoleon in the South of France—he arrives at Fregus—he embarks on board the Undaunted—arrives at Elba—Elba—Buonaparte's mode of life and occupation there—his pecuniary difficulties—he escapes from Elba.*

Napoleon having now resigned himself entirely to his fate, whether for good or evil, prepared, on the 20th of April 1814, to depart for his place of retreat. But first, he had the painful task of bidding farewell to his celebrated Imperial guard. He exhorted them to be faithful to the new sovereign whom France had chosen. "Do not lament my fate; I will always be happy while I know that you are so.—Adieu, my children.—Adieu, my brave companions,—surround me once more—Adieu." Drowned in grief the veteran soldiers heard the farewell of their dethroned leader, and resigned, like him to necessity.

Napoleon was attended by Bertrand and Drouet, honourably faithful to the adverse fortunes of the master who had been their benefactor when in prosperity. Four delegates from the allied powers accompanied him to his new dominions. Their names were,—general Shouvaloff, on the part of Russia; the Austrian general Kohler; colonel Sir Niel

Campbell, as representing Great Britain ; and the general baron Truchsess Waldbourg, as the commissioner of Prussia. Napoleon received the three first with much personal civility, but it galled him that Prussia should assume an immediate share in deciding upon his fate.

He received the English commissioner with particular expressions of esteem, saying he desired to pass to Elba in an English vessel, and was pleased to have the escort of an English officer. "Your nation," he said, "has an elevated character, for which I have the highest esteem. I desired to raise the French people to such a pitch of sentiment, but—," he stopt, and seemed much affected.

Napoleon left Fontainebleau on the 20th April 1814, at eleven o'clock in the morning. His retinue occupied fourteen carriages, and required relays of thirty pairs of post horses. On the 23d he arrived at Lyons; on the 24th at Montelimart, there the exiled emperor heard the last expressions of regard and sympathy. He was now approaching Provence, a region of which he had never possessed the affections, and was greeted with execrations and cries of,—Perish the Tyrant—"Down with the butcher of our children!" Matters looked worse as they advanced. On Monday 25th, he arrived at Avignon, and it was with difficulty that he was saved from popular fury. He was grossly insulted in every town and village, and, but for the anxious interference of the commissioners he would probably have been torn to pieces.

At length he arrived at Fregus, the very port

that received him, when, coming from Egypt, he was on the verge of commencing that astonishing career, now about to terminate, to all earthly appearance; at the very point from which he had started. On the night of the 28th at eleven o'clock, Napoleon embarked on board his *Britanic Majesty's* ship the *Undaunted*, commanded by captain Usher, under a salute of twenty-one guns. "Adieu, Cæsar, and his fortune," said the Russian envoy. The Austrian and the British commissioners accompanied him on his voyage.

During the passage, Buonaparte seemed to recover his spirits, and conversed with great frankness, ease, and good humour, with captain Usher and Sir Niel Campbell. On the 4th of May, they arrived within sight of Porto Ferrajo, the principal town of Elba. The inhabitants had been recently in a state of insurrection against the French, which naturally increased Napoleon's apprehensions for his personal safety. At an early hour, he landed in disguise, and returned on board to breakfast. About two o'clock, the emperor of Elba, as he may now be styled, with the commissioners, went on shore in form, receiving, at leaving the *Undaunted*, a royal salute. He was received by the governor, prefect, and other official persons, with such means of honor as they possessed, who conducted him to the *Hotel-de-Ville* in procession, preceded by a wretched band of fiddlers.

The mighty limits of Napoleon's empire was now contracted to Elba, an island opposite to Tuscany, about sixty miles in circumference. The country

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is mountainous and healthy, and having all the florid vegetation of Italy, is, in general, of a romantic character. He professed to be perfectly resigned in his fate, and said his intentions were, to devote himself to science and literature. But one day, as he climbed a mountain above Ferrajo, and saw the ocean approach its feet in almost every direction, the expression broke from him, accompanied with a good-humoured, "It must be confessed my isle is very little."

In the course of two or three days, travelling with his usual rapidity, and showing the same impatience of rest or delay, Napoleon had visited every spot in his little island, worthy of notice. He had meditated improvements respecting every one of them. One of his first and perhaps most characteristic proposals, was to extend his Liliputian dominions by the occupation of an uninhabited island, called Rianosa. In an incredibly short time Napoleon had also planned several roads, had contrived means to convey water from the mountain to Porto Ferrajo, designed two palaces, one for the country, the other in the city, a separate mansion for his sister Pauline, a lazaretto, stables, &c. He ended by establishing several places of residence in the different quarters of the island, and as his amusement consisted in constant change and alteration, he travelled from one to another with the restlessness of a bird in a cage. He was like the thorough-bred gamester, who deprived of the means of depositing large stakes will rather play at small game than leave the table.

The interior of Napoleon's household, though reduced to thirty-five persons still held the titles, and affected the rank, proper to an imperial court, of which it will be presently seen the petty sovereign made a political use. His body-guard, of about 700 infantry and 80 cavalry seemed to occupy as much of Napoleon's attention as the grand army did formerly. Sundry parties of recruits came over to Elba from Italy to enlist in his guards. Napoleon's conduct towards the refugees who found their way to Elba, may be judged from the following sketch. On the 11th of July, Colomboni, commandant of a battalion of the 4th regiment of the line in Italy was presented to the emperor as newly arrived. Well, Colomboni, your business in Elba?"—"First, to pay my duty to your majesty; secondly, to offer myself to carry a musket among your guards."—"That is too low a situation, you must have something better," said Napoleon, and instantly named him to an appointment of 1200 francs yearly.

About the middle of summer, Napoleon was visited by his mother, and his sister the princess Pauline. At this time, too, he seems to have expected to be rejoined by his wife Maria Louisa but was refused a request, which would have been granted to a felon condemned to transportation. About the middle of May, baron Kohler took farewell of Napoleon, to return to Vienna. Colonel Sir Niel Campbell, therefore, was the only one of the four commissioners who continued to remain at Elba. It was difficult to say what his office really was, or what were his instructions. He had neither power,

title, nor means to interfere with Napoleon's notions, as the emperor had been recognised by treaty as an independant sovereign. For a considerable time Napoleon seemed to seek the society of the British envoy, held frequent intercourse with him, and conversed with apparent confidence upon public affairs. Towards the latter end of 1814 however Sir Niel Campbell became sensible that Napoleon desired to exclude him from his presence as much as possible. His only opportunity of obtaining access to Napoleon was on his return from short absences to Leghorn and Florence, when his attendance on the levee was matter of etiquette. As the winter approached, a change was discernable in Napoleon's manners and habits. The alterations which he had planned in the island no longer gave him the same interest; and he renounced, from time to time, the severe exercises in which he had at first indulged, used a carriage rather than his horse, and sunk occasionally into fits of deep contemplation, mingled with gloomy anxiety.

His pecuniary affairs too became embarrassing, because, France did not fulfil her engagement. Sir Niel Campbell, repeatedly gave it as his opinion, that, if these difficulties pressed upon him much longer, so as to prevent him from continuing the external show of a court, he was perfectly capable of crossing over to Piombino with his troops, or committing any other extravagance."

In the beginnig of the year 1815, it was evident that Napoleon was preparing the minds of the military of France for what was to ensue. Having

granted discharges and furloughs to two or three hundred of his old guard, they disseminated the persuasion, that he would soon appear to reclaim his rights.

At length Mariatti, the French consul at Leghorn, and Spannoki, the Tuscan governor of that town informed Sir Niel Campbell that it was certainly determined at Elba, that Buonaparte, with his guards, should embark for the continent. On the 25th of February, the Partridge having come to Leghorn and fetched off Sir Niel Campbell, the appearance, as the vessel approached Porto Ferrajo on her return, of the national guard on the batteries, instead of the crested grenadiers of the Imperial guard, at once apprised the British resident of what had happened. When he landed, he found the mother and sister of Buonaparte in a well assumed agony of anxiety about the fate of their emperor, of whom they affected to know nothing except that he had steered towards to cost of Barbary. The British envoy immediately re-embarked, and set sail in pursuit of the adventurer. But it was too late.

The present most bold and daring action had been encouraged by the changes which had taken place in France, to which we return in our next chapter.



## CHAPTER XXVI.

*Restoration of the Bourbons—displeasing to the soldiery—terms granted to France by the Allies—state of parties in France—the Jacobins join the Buonapartists—active intrigues commenced—Congress at Vienna.*

WE must now look back to the re-establishment of the Bourbons upon the throne in 1814, an event which took place under circumstances so uncommon as to excite extravagant expectations of national felicity. For a time all had been gay and rose coloured. Louis XVIII, respectable for his literary acquirements, and the practice of domestic virtues, amiable also from a mixture of *bon homie*, and a talent for saying witty things, was received in the capital of his kingdom with acclamations in which the soldiers alone did not cordially join. The higher and middle classes in general; excepting those who were direct losers by the dethronement of Napoleon, hailed with sincere satisfaction the prospect of peace, tranquility, and freedom.

The allied monarchs, on their part did every thing to favour the Bourbon family, and relaxed most of the harsh and unpalatable conditions which they had annexed to their proposed treaty with Buonaparte; they observed not only moderation, but a studied delicacy towards the feelings of the French, which almost savoured of romantic gene-

rosity. They announced to the public, that the whole French prisoners of war were at once restored to the bosom of their country without any inquiry concerning their principles, or the part they were likely to take in future internal divisions.

Meanwhile, Louis Stanislaus Xavier ascended the throne of France and adopted not only the form most consonant to ancient usage, but that which he thought most likely to satisfy both the royalist and the revolutionary parties. But both parties were rather displeased at what they considered as lost, than gratified at what they gained by this arrangement. The royalists regarded the constitution, with its concessions, as a voluntary abandonment of the royal prerogative, while the revolutionary party exclaimed, that the receiving the charter from the King as an act of his will, was in itself a badge of servitude. And thus the very granting the object of their desires was made the subject of new complaints.

Thus setting out with varying and contradictory opinions of the nature and origin of the new constitution, the parties in the state regarded it rather as a fortress to be attacked and defended, than as a temple in which all men were called to worship. At this period the French might be divided into three distinct and active parties—royalists; liberals of every shade, down to Republicans; and Buonapartists. The royalists, while they added little real strength to the King by their numbers, attracted much jealous observation from their high birth and equally high pretensions, embroiled his

affairs by their imprudent zeal; embittered his peace by their just and natural complaints; and drew suspicion on his government at every effort which he made to serve and relieve them. They consisted chiefly of the emigrant nobles and clergy.

The former class were greatly reduced in number by war and exile; the latter were reduced to indigence, and consequently without influence, for Buonaparte, who had his reason for fearing the influence of the clergy, adopted and followed this maxim, viz. "We will not put down the ecclesiastical establishment by force; we will starve it to death."

Whilst the royalists rather sapped and encumbered then supported the throne to which they adhered, their errors were carefully pointed out, circulated, and exaggerated, by the Jacobin, or as they called themselves, the patriotic party. This faction, small in number but formidable from their audacity, their union, and the recollection of their former power, consisted of ex-generals, ex-ministers and functionaries, men of letters: and philosophers. Carnot and Fouché, formidable names, and revolutionists from their youth upward, were the leaders of their active party. During the government of Buonaparte, this jacobinal party was repressed by a strong hand, but the return of the Bourbons called them into life, like the sun which thaws the frozen adder; but it was only to show how they hated the beams which revived them.

The party of imperialists, or Buonapartists, if we lay the army out of view, was small and unimpor-

tant. It consisted of courtiers, prefects, commissioners, clerks, and commissaries, whose present means and future hopes were cut off. But the real and tremendous strength of the Buonapartists lay in the attachment of the existing army to its abdicated general. A great mass of past glory still adhered to the name of Napoleon; and his troops and partisans had no difficulty in finding reasons for his failures in unforeseen circumstances, and in the perfidious desertion of his former allies. The pride of the nation, co-operating with this feeling, spurning at the idea of being conquered. As soon therefore, as the joy of present relief, from danger had subsided, a spirit of discontent manifested itself in animosity against the allies, and in disaffection to a government which they considered had been imposed upon them by foreign arms.

Louis and the charter were the two chief objects of the Jacobins' hatred, and to get rid of them they determined on a union with the Buonapartists. When or how this league was formed, we have no opportunity of knowing. But so soon as the coalition was formed Buonaparte's praises were sung forth on all sides, and some of his most decided enemies, and a great part of the French public, were disposed to think of Buonaparte at Elba more favorably than Napoleon in the Tuilleries. Every instance of his activity, within the little circle of his dominions, was contrasted with the constitutional inertness of the restored monarch.

Various affiliations and points of rendezvous were now arranged to recruit for partizans. Even the



ladies of the ex-emperor's court were zealous agents in those political intrigues. The *violet* was adopted as a symbol to express their hopes, that Buonaparte's glories would revive in the spring; and Napoleon himself was called Corporal Violet. The flower and the colour were publicly worn as a party distinction before the Bourbons, who seeming to slumber at the Tuilleries, had taken the least alarm; and the health of Buonaparte under the name of corporal Violet, or Jean d'Epée, was pledged by many a royalist without suspicion of the concealed meaning. Paris was the centre of the plot; but its ramifications extended through France. Clubs were formed in the chief provincial towns, and a regular correspondence were established between them and the capital.

While the royal government in France was thus gradually undermined and prepared for an explosion, the rest of Europe resembled an ocean in the act of settling after a mighty storm, when the partial wreck is visible, heaving on the subsiding swell, which threatens yet further damage ere it be entirely lulled to rest. A Congress of representatives from the principal states of Europe had met at Vienna in order to arrange the confused and complicated interest which had arisen out of twenty-five years of constant war. But so totally changed were, not merely the social relations and relative powers of Europe, but the habits, sentiments, and principles of the inhabitants, that it appeared altogether impossible to restore the original system as it existed before 1792. Amid the labors

of the Congress, their attention was turned to the kingdom of Naples ; Murat it seemed had changed sides once more, and renewed his intercourse with Napoleon. The contiguity of Elba to Naples rendered this a matter of little difficulty. Napoleon, however, always resolutely denied that he had any share or knowledge of the enterprise which Murat meditated.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

*Buonaparte's escape from Elba—he lands at Cannes, and advances through France—arrives at Grenoble, and is joined by 3000 men—halts at Lyons—appoints a ministry, and issues several decrees—revolt of the Bourbon army at Melun.*

HAVING cursorily glanced over the movements in France, which paved the way for Napoleon's entrance, we will now attend to his more immediate concerns. It is impossible to know at what particular period of Napoleon's residence in Elba, he gave an express consent to what was proposed, and disposed himself to assume the part destined for him in the extraordinary drama. It is probable, however, it was about that time when he assumed the airs of an inaccessible and imperial state, to keep at a distance, as an inconvenient observer, Sir Niel Campbell, to whom he had before seemed rather partial. The increasing discontent of the French people having come to his knowledge; the wheel of vicissitudes being again put in motion; the mind of Napoleon became intently fixed upon the progress of its rotation.

On Sunday, 26th February 1815, Napoleon embarked with his guards on board the flotilla, consisting of the Inconstant brig, and six other small vessels. The force, with which he was once more to change the fortunes of France, amounted but to

about 1,000 men. Napoleon encountered two great risks in his passage. The first was from meeting a royal French frigate, who hailed the *Inconstant*. The guards were ordered to put off their caps, and go below, while the captain of the *Inconstant* exchanged some civilities with the commander of the frigate, and was permitted to pass on without further inquiry. The second danger was caused by the pursuit of Sir Niel Campbell, in the *Partridge* sloop of war, who, following him with the determination to capture or sink the flotilla, could but obtain a distant view of the vessels as they landed their passengers.

On the 1st of March, Napoleon with his followers disembarked at Cannes, a small sea-port in the gulf of Saint Juan, not far from Fregus, which had seen him land a single individual, returned from Egypt, to conquer a mighty empire; had beheld him set sail, a terrified exile, to occupy the place of his banishment; and now again witnessed his return, a daring adventurer, to throw the dice once more for a throne or a grave. Here he caused his followers again to assume the three-coloured cockade. A small party of his guard presented themselves before Antibes, but were made prisoners by General Corsin, the governor of the place. Napoleon, undismayed by a circumstance so unfavourable, instantly began his march at the head of scarce a thousand men, towards the centre of a kingdom from which he had been expelled, and where his rival now occupied the throne. For some time the inhabitants remained doubtful, whe-



ther to assist them as friends or oppose them as invaders. A few peasants, cried *vive l'empereur!* but the higher ranks neither countenanced nor opposed them. On the evening of the 2d March, the little band reached Ceremin, having left behind them their small train of artillery, in order to enable them to make forced marches. As Napoleon approached Dauphine, the peasants greeted him with more general welcome, and they were now near to those by whom the success or ruin of the expedition must be decided.

On the 7th March the seventh regiment of the line, commanded by Colonel La Bedoyere arrived at Grenoble. As Napoleon approached that city, he came into contact with the outposts of the garrison, who drew out, but seemed irresolute. Buonaparte halted his own little party, and advanced almost alone, exposing his breast, as he exclaimed, "he who will now kill his emperor, let him now do his pleasure." The appeal was so irresistible—the soldiers threw down their arms, crowded round the general, who had so often led them to victory, and shouted *vive l'empereur!* La Bedoyere, at the head of two battalions, was sallying from the gates of Grenoble. As they advanced he displayed an eagle; and at the same time, he distributed among the soldiers the tri-coloured cockades, which he had concealed in the hollow of a drum. They were received with enthusiasm. Marshal de Camp Des Villiers, alarmed at what was taking place, expostulated with the soldiers, but was compelled to retire. Napoleon was thus at the head of nearly

3,000 soldiers, with a suitable train of artillery, and a corresponding quantity of ammunition. He acted with great moderation, and dismissed the loyal commandant of Grenoble, general Marchand uninjured.

When the first news of Napoleon's arrival reached Paris, it excited surprise rather than alarm ; but when he was found to traverse the country without opposition, the dormant spirit of the Bourbons was aroused, and by the most animating proclamations called the people to arms. Even the females enlisted in the cause, as appears by the following animating appeal to the popular feeling, made by one, "if Louis has not men enough to fight for him, let him call on the widows and childless mothers who have been rendered such by Napoleon."

Notwithstanding all these demonstrations of zeal, the public mind had been much influenced by the causes of discontent which had prevailed for many months past. The decided royalists were few, and the constitutionalists lukewarm. The progress of Buonaparte, in the meantime was uninterrupted. It was in vain, that at Lyons, Monsieur and the duke of Orleans, with the advice and influence of marshal Macdonald, endeavored to retain the troops in their duty, and the inhabitants in their allegiance to the King. The latter, chiefly manufacturers, afraid of being undersold by those of England in their own market, shouted openly, "*vive l'empereur.*" The troops of the line remained silent and gloomy. "How will your soldiers behave?" said Monsieur to the Colonel of the 13th

dragoons. The Colonel referred him to the men themselves. They answered candidly, that they would fight for Napoleon alone. Monsieur dismounted, and addressed the soldiers individually. To one veteran, covered with scars, and decorated with medals the Prince said, "a brave soldier like you, at least will cry, *vive le Roi!*"—you deceive yourself," answered the soldier. "No one here will fight against his father—I will cry, *vive Napoleon!*" and, so soon as the advancing troops came in presence of each other, they broke their ranks, and mingled in the general cry of *vive l'empereur*.

Buonaparte, now master of the ancient capital of the guards, and at the head of seven thousand men, was acknowledged by Macon, Chalons, Dijon, and almost all Burgundy. But the city of Marseilles set a price on his head. Napoleon found it necessary to halt at Lyons for the refreshment of his forces; and being joined by some of the civilians of his party, he needed time also to organize his government and administration. Decrees upon decrees issued forth, with a rapidity which showed how Buonaparte had employed those studious hours at Elba, which he was supposed to have dedicated to the composition of his memoirs. They ran in the name of Napoleon by the grace of God, emperor of France, and were dated on the 13th of March 1815. By the several decrees, thus issued, the chambers were dissolved, and a variety of changes made, which at once embraced every part of the civil and military administration of the state. Cambaceres was named his minister of justice; Fouché

that of police; and Davoust was made minister of war.

The revolutionary fever preceded Buonaparte like an epidemic disorder. The 14th regiment of lancers, quartered at Auxere, where he arrived on the 17th March, trampled under foot the white cockade at the first signal; the sixth regiment of lancers declared also for Napoleon, and without waiting for orders, drove a few soldiers of the household troops from Montereau, and secured that important post, which commands the passage of the Seine.

The dismay of the royal government was much increased by the revolt at Lyons. Louis XVIII, in his distress, had recourse to the assistance of marshal Ney, whom he called forth to take the command of the army destined to attack Napoleon as he marched towards Paris. He accepted his appointment with expressions of the most devoted faith to the King, and declared his resolution to bring Buonaparte to Paris like a wild beast in an iron cage. Ney, thus professing, advanced to Loup de Saulnier. Here, on the night betwixt the 13th and 14th March, he received a letter from Napoleon, summoning him to join his standard, as "bravest of the brave," a name which could not but awake a thousand remembrances. He had already sounded both his officers and followers, and discovered their unalterable determination to join Buonaparte. Thus had Ney remained faithful, the army would have passed over to Napoleon, and he must have returned, without the army, and without what



might even seem an effort at realising his boast. He, pretending that the expedition of Napoleon had long been arranged between himself and the other marshals, resolved upon adhering to Buonaparte.

Marshal Ney now published an order of day, declaring that the cause of the Bourbons was lost for ever. It was received by the soldiers with rapture, and Buonaparte's standard and colors were instantly displayed. Ney was received by Napoleon with open arms.

Notwithstanding these unpromising circumstances, the King used every effort to induce his subjects to continue in their allegiance. He attended in person the sitting of the chamber of Deputies ; reviewed the national guards ; and inspected the troops of the line, but his reception with the last was equivocal. They placed their caps on their bayonets, in token of respect, but they raised no shout. As a last resource, Louis convoked a general council at the Tuilleries on the 18th March. The generals present declared there could be no effectual opposition offered to Buonaparte. At length, Louis was obliged to break up the meeting, and prepare himself to abandon a capital, which the prevalence of his enemies, and the disunion of his friends, left him no longer any chance of defending.

Meantime the two armies approached each other at Melun ; that of the King was commanded by the faithful Macdonald. On the 20th, his troops were drawn up in three lines to receive the invaders, who were said to be advancing from Fontainebleau. After a long pause of suspense, their attention was

excited by the galloping of horses. At length an open carriage appeared, surrounded by a few husars, and drawn by four horses. It came on at full speed ; and Napoleon jumping from the vehicle, was in the midst of the ranks which had been formed to oppose him. His escort threw themselves from their horses, mingled with their ancient comrades, and the effect of their exhortations was instantaneous. There was a general shout of *vive Napoleon!* Thus the last army of the Bourbons passed from their side, and no further obstacle existed betwixt Napoleon and the capital, which he was once more—but for a brief space—to inhabit as a sovereign.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

*The King leaves Paris, and Buonaparte arrives there—his reception—Buonaparte's again reinstated on the throne of France, is desirous of continuing the peace with the allies—but no answer returned to his letters.*

SUCH a crisis of affairs rendered the King's stay dangerous, accordingly he departed from Paris, escorted by his household, at one in the morning of the 20th March. The revolution now took full effect at Paris, having no barrier in the way. Lavalette, one of Buonaparte's most decided adherents, hastened from a place of concealment to assume the management of the post-office in the name of Napoleon, an office which he had enjoyed during his former reign. He was thus enabled to intercept the royal proclamations, and announce to every department officially the restoration of the Emperor.

Late in the evening of the 20th March, Napoleon arrived at Paris amid the shouts of armed columns, who welcomed with military acclamations the chief, who was to restore them to their element. As soon as he alighted, the people rushed on him: a thousand arms bore him up, and carried him in triumph to the Tuilleries. Here the adherents of the old Imperial government, and those who, hav-

ing deserted Napoleon, were eager to expiate their fault, by now being first to acknowledge him, were assembled to give voice to their welcome. They crowded around him as closely, that he was compelled to exclaim, —“My friends, you stifle me!” and his adjutants were obliged to support him in their arms up the grand staircase, and thence into the royal apartments, where he received the all-hail of the principle devisers and abettors of this singular undertaking.

When Paris was lost, the bow of the Bourbons was effectually broken; and attempts of individuals of the family to make a stand against the evil hour was honorable indeed to their own gallantry, but of no advantage to their cause.

Of all the family of the Buorbons the duke and duchess of Angouleme alone persisted in the struggle against Napoleon. The duchess threw herself into Bordeaux, where the loyalty of Count Lynch the Mayor, and of the citizens in general promised her determined aid, and the Princess herself stood forth amongst them, like one of those heroic women in the age of chivalry, whose looks and words were able in moments of peril to give double edge to men's swords and double constancy to their hearts. But the troops had caught the general spirit from which the duchess, although she laid their duty before them in the most touching and pathetic manner, could not change them. But when she saw their coldness, and heard their faltering excuses, she turned from them in disdain: You fear,” said she—  
“I pity you, and release you from your oaths.”



Thus all opposition to Napoleon's government ceased, and he was acknowledged as Emperor within about twenty days after he landed on the beach at Cannes, with a thousand followers. But though he was thus replaced on the throne, his seat was by no means secure, unless he could prevail upon the confederated Sovereigns of Europe to acknowledge him in the capacity of which their united arms had so lately deprived him. Meantime Napoleon hesitated not to offer to the allied ministers his willingness to acquiesce in the treaty of Paris. He sent a letter to each of the sovereigns, expressing his desire to make peace on the same principles which had been arranged with the Bourbons. The decision of the allies had already been adopted.

The Congress at Vienna happened not to be dissolved, when the news of Buonaparte's escape from Elba was laid before them by Talleyrand on the 11th March (1815.) The astonishing, as well as the sublime, approaches to the ludicrous, and it is a curious physiological fact, that the first news of an event, which threatened to abolish all their labors, seemed so like a trick in pantomime, that laughter was the first emotion it excited from almost every one. The merry mood did not last long; for the jest was neither a sound nor a safe one. The Congress unequivocally expressed their sentiments upon this occasion. This declaration appeared on the 13th March, and after giving an account of the fact, bore the following denunciation:—"By thus breaking the convention which had established him in the island of Elba, Buonaparte destroys the only

legal title on which his existence depended ; and by appearing again in France with projects of confusion and disorder, he has deprived himself of the protection of the law, and has manifested to the universe, that there can be neither peace nor truce with him.

The powers consequently declare, that Napoleon Buonaparte has placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations, and that, as an enemy and disturber of the tranquility of the world, he has rendered himself liable to public vengeance. They declare at the same time, that, firmly resolved to maintain entire the treaty of Paris of the 13th of May, 1814, and the dispositions sanctioned by that treaty, and those which they have resolved on, or shall hereafter resolve on, to complete and consolidate it, they will employ all their means, and will unite all their efforts, that the general peace, the object of the wishes of Europe, and the constant purpose of their labors may not again be troubled ; and to provide against every attempt which shall threaten to replunge the world into the disorders of revolution."

This manifesto was instantly followed by a treaty betwixt Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, renewing and confirming the league entered into at Chaumont.

While Buonaparte was actively preparing for the approaching contest, he perceived that it was impossible to fulfil his promise of presenting his wife and son to the people on the champ de Mai. Stratagem remained the only resource ; and some Frenchmen at Vienna, with those in Maria Louisa's

train, formed a scheme of carrying off the empress of France and her child. The plot was discovered and prevented, and the most public steps were immediately taken, to show that Austria considered all ties with Buonaparte as dissolved for ever.

Nor did the other powers in Europe show themselves more accessible to his advances. He was, therefore, reduced to his own resources in the French nation.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

*Preparations to renew the war—the allied forces amount to 1,000,000 men—Buonaparte's force not more than 200,000,—military resources of France—Napoleon's plan of the campaign—Paris placed in complete state of defence—the frontier passes and towns fortified also—Generals who accept command under Napoleon—he announces his purpose to measure himself with Wellington.*

WHILST Buonaparte was engaged in reorganizing his government and rallying his forces, the allies were making the most gigantic preparations for the renewal of war. The Chancellor of the exchequer of England had achieved a loan of 36,000,000, and the command of this treasure, had put the whole troops of the coalition into the most active advance.

The seat of the Congress had been removed from Vienna to Frankfort, to be near the theatre of war. The emperors of Russia and Austria with the King of Prussia, had once more placed themselves at the head of their respective armies. The whole eastern frontier was menaced by immense forces. One hundred and fifty thousand Austrians disengaged from Murat, might enter France through Switzerland, the Cantons having acceded to the coalition. An army equal in strength menaced the higher Rhine. Schwartzenberg commanded the Austri-



ans in chief. The archduke Constantine was nominated Generalissimo, Barclay de Tolly, Sacken, Langeron, &c., were the efficient commanders. One hundred and fifty thousand Prussians, under Blucher, occupied Flanders, and were united with about 80,000 troops, British, or in British pay, under the duke of Wellington. There were also to be reckoned the contingents of the different princes of Germany, so that the allied were grossly computed to amount to upwards of 1,000,000 of men. This immense force, however, could not be brought forward at once. They were necessarily disposed on various lines for the convenience of subsistence, and were brought up successively in support of each other.

To meet this immense array, Napoleon, with his usual talent and celerity, had brought forward means of surprising extent. The regular army diminished by the Bourbons, had been, by calling out the retired officers, and disbanded soldiers, increased from something rather under 100,000 men, to double that number of experienced troops, of the first quality. But this was dust in the balance; and the mode of conscription was so intimately connected with Napoleon's wars of conquest and disaster, that he dared not propose to have recourse to the old resource of conscription, which, however, Buonaparte trusted he might still find effectual in the month of June, to the number of 300,000. In the meantime, it was proposed to render moveable, for active service, two hundred battalions of the national Guards, choosing those most fit for duty,

which would make a force of 112,000. It was also proposed to levy as many federates, that is, volunteers of the lower orders, as could be brought together in the different departments. The levy of the national Guards was ordered by an imperial decree of 5th April, 1815, and commissioners, chiefly of the Jacobin faction, were sent down into the different departments, Buonaparte being well pleased at once to employ them in their own sphere, and to get rid of their presence at Paris.

Corps of federates had been formed in all the districts where materials could be found of which to compose them. From these forces Napoleon selected a grand army to act under his personal orders. They were chosen with great care, and the preparation of their material was of the most extensive and complete description. The numbers in gross might amount to 150,000 ; as great a number of troops perhaps, as can conveniently move upon one plan of operations, or be subjected to one generalissimo. A large deduction is to be made to attain the exact amount of his effective force.

Thus prepared for action, no doubt was made that Buonaparte would open the campaign, by assuming offensive operations. To wait till the enemy had assembled their full force on his frontier, would have suited neither the man nor the moment. It was most agreeable to his system, his disposition, and his interest, to rush upon some separate army of the allies, surprise them, according to his own phrase in delict, and, by its dispersion or annihilation, give courage to France, animate her to fresh exertions

in his cause, intimidate the confederate powers, and gain time for sowing in their league the seeds of disunion. Even the Royalists, whose interest was so immediately connected with the defeat of Buonaparte, were dismayed by witnessing his gigantic preparations, and sadly anticipated victories as the first result, though they trusted that as in 1814, he would be at length worn out, by force of numbers and reiterated exertions.

Napoleon, however, was desirous to aim a decisive blow at the most enterprising and venturous of the invading armies. He knew Blucher, and had heard of Wellington ; he therefore resolved to move against those generals, while he opposed walls and fortified places to the more slow and cautious advance of the Austrian general, Schwartzemberg, and trusted that distance might render ineffectual the progress of the Russians.

According to this general system, Paris under the direction of general Haxo, was on the northern side placed in a complete state of defence, by a double line of fortifications, so that, if the first were forced, the defenders might retire within the second, instead of being compelled, as in the preceding year, to quit the heights and fall back upon the city. Montmartre was very strongly fortified. The southern part of the city on the opposite side of the Seine was only covered with a few field-works ; time, and the open character of the ground, permitting no more. But the Seine itself was relied upon as a barrier, having proved such in 1814.

Similar precautions were observed on the fron-

tiers. Entrenchments were constructed in the five principal passes of the Vosgesian mountains, and all the natural passes and strong holds of Lorraine were put in the best possible state of defence. The posts on the inner line were strengthened with the greatest care. The fine military position under the walls of Lyons was improved with great expense and labor. All the towns capable of any defence, were rendered as strong as posts, palisades, redoubts, and fieldworks could make them. The Russian armies, though pressing fast forward, were not as yet arrived upon the line of operations; and Napoleon doubtless trusted that these impediments, in front of the Austrian line, would arrest any hasty advance on their part, since the well known tactics of that school declared against leaving in their rear fortresses or towns possessed by the enemy, however insignificant or slightly garrisoned.

Napoleon, now about to commence his operations, summoned round him his best and most experienced generals. Soult, late minister of war for Louis XVIII., was named major-general. He obeyed, he says, not in any respect as an enemy of the King, but as a citizen and soldier, whose duty it was to obey whomsoever was at the head of the government, as that of the vicar of Bray subjected him in ghostly submission to each head of the church *pro tempore*. Ney was ordered to repair to the army at Lisle, "if he wished," so the command was expressed, "to witness the first battle," Macdonald was strongly solicited to accept a command, but declined it with disdain. Davoust, the



minister at war undertook to remove his scruples, he spoke to him of what his honor required. "It is not from you," replied the marshal, "that I am to learn sentiments of honor," and persisted in his refusal. The cavalry was placed under the command of Grouchy, (whom Napoleon had created a marshal.) Pajol, Excelmans, Milhaud, and Kellerman, were his seconds in command. The artillery were three hundred pieces; the cavalry approached to twenty five thousand men; the guards to the same number; and there is little doubt that the whole army amounted in effective force to nearly 130,000 soldiers, in the most complete state as to arms and equipments, who now marched to a war which they themselves had occasioned, under an emperor of their own making, and bore in their hearts and on their tongues the sentiments of death or victory.

Napoleon, having finished his preparations, at length announced what had long occupied his secret thoughts. "I go," he said, as he threw himself into his carriage to join his army, "I go to measure myself with Wellington." But although Napoleon's expressions were those of confidence and defiance, his internal feelings were of a different complexion. "I no longer felt," as he afterwards expressed himself in his exile, "that complete confidence in final success, which accompanied me on former undertakings. Whether it was that I was getting beyond the period of life when men are usually favored by fortune, or whether the impulse of my career seemed impeded in my own eyes, and to my

own imagination, it is certain that I felt a depression of spirit. Fortune, which used to follow my steps to load me with her bounties, was now a severe deity, from whom I might snatch a few favors, but for which she exacted severe retribution. I had no sooner gained an advantage than it was followed by a reverse." With such feeling, not certainly unwarranted by the circumstances under which the campaign was undertaken, nor disproved by the event, Napoleon undertook his shortest and last campaign.

## CHAPTER XXX.

*Army of Wellington covers Brussels—Napoleon reviews his grand army on the 14th June—Napoleon's plan of the attack—battle of Ligny, and defeat of Blucher on the 16th June—action at Quatre Bras on the same day.*

THE triple line of strong fortresses possessed by the French on the borders of Belgium served Napoleon as a curtain, behind which he could prepare his levies and unite his forces at pleasure, without any possibility of the allies or their generals being able to observe his motions, or prepare for the attack which such motions indicated. On the other hand, the frontier of Belgium was open to his observation, and he knew perfectly the general disposal of the allied force. If the French had been prepared to make their meditated attack upon Flanders in the month of May, they would have found no formidable force to oppose them. But the return of Napoleon, which again awakened the war, was an event as totally unexpected in France as in Flanders, and therefore, that nation was as much unprepared to make an attack as the allies to repel one. Thus it happened, that while Napoleon was exerting himself to collect an army by the means we have mentioned, the duke of Wellington, who arrived at Brussels from Vienna in the beginning of

April, had leisure to garrison and supply the strong places of Ostend, Antwerp, and Nieuport, which the French had not dismantled, and to fortify Ypres, Tournay, Mons, and Ath. He had also leisure to receive his reinforcements from England, and to collect the German, Dutch, and Belgian contingents.

Thus collected and reinforced the duke of Wellington's army might contain about thirty thousand English troops. They were not, however, those veteran soldiers who had served under him during the Peninsular war; the flower of which had been despatched upon the American expedition. Most were second battalions, which had been lately filled up with new recruits. The foreigners were 15,000 Hanoverians, with the celebrated German legion, 8,000 strong, which had so often distinguished itself in Spain; 5,000 Brunswickers, under their gallant duke; and about 17,000 Belgians, Dutch, and Nassau troops, commanded by the Prince of Orange.

In the meantime, Napoleon in person advanced to Verins on the 12th June, with his Guard, who had marched from Paris. The other divisions of his selected Grand Army had been assembled on the frontier, and the whole, consisting of five divisions of infantry and four of cavalry, were combined at Bourmont on the 14th of the same month, with a decree of secrecy and expedition which showed the usual genius of their commander. Napoleon reviewed the troops in person, reminded them that the day of the anniversary of the great victories of



Marengo and Friedland, and called on them to remember that the enemies whom they had then defeated, were the same which were now arrayed against them "Are they and we," he asked, "no longer the same men!" The address produced the strongest effect on the minds of the French soldiery, always sensitively alive to military and national glory.

Upon the 15th June, the French army was in motion in every direction. Their advanced-guard of light troops swept the western bank of the Sambre clear of all the allied corps of observation. They then advanced upon Charleroi, which was well defended by the Prussians under general Zieten, who was at length compelled to retire on the large village of Gosselies. Here his retreat was cut off, and he lost four or five guns, and a considerable number in killed and wounded.

By this movement the plan of Napoleon was made manifest. It was at once most scientific and adventurous. His number were unequal to sustain a conflict with the armies of Blucher and Wellington united, but by forcing his way so as to separate the one enemy from the other, he would gain the advantage of acting against either individually with the gross of his forces, while he could spare enough of detached troops to keep the other in check. To accomplish this masterly manœuvre, it was necessary to push onwards upon a part of the British advance, which occupied the position of Quatre Bras, and the yet more advanced post of Frasnes, where some of the Nassau troops were stationed. But the

extreme rapidity of Napoleon's forced marches had in some measure prevented the execution of his plan, by dispersing his forces so much, that at a time when every hour was of consequence, he was compelled to remain at Charleroi until his wearied and over-marched army had collected.

Nothing of importance took place until the 16th of June, when Napoleon commenced the attack, about three o'clock in the afternoon, with uncommon fury all along the Prussian line. After a continued attack of two hours, the French had only obtained possession of part of the village of Saint Armand. The position of the Prussians, however, was thus far defective, that the main part of their army being drawn up on the heights, and the remainder occupying villages which lay at their foot, the reinforcements, despatched to the latter were necessarily exposed during their descent to the fire from the French artillery, placed on the meadows below. After a desperate resistance, the French at length obtained possession of Ligny. The French guards, supported by their heavy cavalry, ascended the heights, and attacked the Prussian position in the rear of Ligny. The reserves of the Prussian infantry having been despatched to St. Armand, Blucher had no means of repelling this attack, save by his cavalry. He placed himself at their head, and charged in the most desperate manner, but without success. The cavalry of Blucher were forced back in disorder.

The Prince Marshal, as he directed the retreat, was involved in one of the charges of cavalry,

his horse struck down by a cannon-shot, and he himself prostrated on the ground. His aid-de-camp threw himself beside the veteran, determined to share his fate, and he had the precaution to fling a cloak over him to prevent his being recognised by the French. The enemy's cuirassiers passed over him, and it was not until they were repulsed, and in their turn pursued by the Prussian cavalry, that the gallant veteran was raised and remounted.

Such was the battle of Ligny. But the victory was attended with none of those decisive consequences which were wont to mark the successes of Buonaparte. There were no corps cut off or dispersed, no regiments which fled or flung down their arms, no line of defence forced, no permanent advantage gained. The Prussians are believed to have lost in this bloody action at least 10,000. Napoleon by this victory had struck a great blow—overpowered a stubborn and inveterate enemy, and opened the campaign with favorable auspices. The degree of advantage, however, which Napoleon might have derived from the Prussian retreat, was greatly limited by the indifferent success of Ney against the forces of Lord Wellington. Of this second action we have now to give some account.

On the morning of the 16th, the British were in possession of Quatre Bras. About three o'clock in the afternoon the main attack commenced. The British infantry, and particularly the 42d Highlanders, suffered severely from an unexpected charge of lancers, whose approach was hid from them by the character of the ground, intersected with hedges,

and covered with heavy crops of rye. Two companies of the Highlanders were cut off not having time to form the square; the other succeeded in getting into order and beating off the lancers. Ney then attempted a general charge of heavy cavalry. But they were received with such a galling fire from the infantry, joined to a battery of two guns, that it could not be sustained. As the English reinforcements arrived in succession, marshal Ney became desirous of an addition of numbers, and sent to procure the assistance of d'Erlon's division near Marchiennes. But these troops had been previously ordered to succour Buonaparte's own army. As the affair of Ligny was, however over before they arrived, the division was again sent back towards Ney, but his battle was also by this time over. The battle of Quatre Bras terminated with the light. The British retained possession of the field, which they had maintained with so much obstinacy, because the Duke of Wellington conceived that Blucher would be able to make his ground good at Ligny, and was consequently desirous that the armies should retain the line of communication which they had occupied in the morning. But the Prussians, evacuating all the villages which they held in the neighbourhood of Ligny, had concentrated their forces and retreated upon the river Dyle, in the vicinity of Wavre. Blucher had effected this retreat, not only without pursuit by the French, but without their knowing for some time in what direction he had gone. This doubt respecting Blucher's movements occasioned an uncertain-



ty and delay in those of the French, which was afterwards attended with the very worst consequences.

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## CHAPTER XXXI.

*The English army on the 17th June, take up their ground on Waterloo, and the French next morning—strength of the two armies—plans of their generals—BATTLE OF WATERLOO.*

ABOUT 3 o'clock on the afternoon of the 17th June, (1815,) the British came on the memorable field of Waterloo, and took up their bivouac for the night in the order in which they were to fight the next day. It was much later before Napoleon reached the heights of La Belle Alliance in person, and his army did not come up in full force till the morning of the 18th. The French force on the field consisted probably of about 75,000 men. The English army did not exceed that number, at the highest computation. Each army was commanded by the chief, under whom they had offered to defy the world. So far the forces were equal. But the French had the very great advantage of being trained and experienced soldiers of the same nation, whereas the English in the Duke of Wellington's army, did not exceed 35,000.

The night of the 17h was dreadful, and seemed to presage the calamities of the day. The violent and incessant rain did not allow a moment's rest to

Napoleon's army. The bad state of the roads hindered the arrival of provisions, and the most of the soldiers were without food. The emperor thought that Lord Wellington, separated from the Prussians, would not venture to maintain his position in the forest, and next morning, was surprised that the English had not quitted their positions, but on the contrary, were disposed to accept battle. He made several generals reconnoitre the English, and from one of them learned, that they were defended "by an army of cannons, and mountains of infantry."

The plans of these two great generals were extremely simple. The object of the duke of Wellington was to maintain his line of defence, until the Prussians coming up, should give him a decided superiority of force.

Napoleon's scheme was equally plain and decided. He trusted, by his usual rapidity of attack, to break and destroy the British army before the Prussians should arrive on the field.

The tempest, which raged with tropical violence all night, abated in the morning; but the weather continued gusty and stormy during the whole day. Betwixt eleven and twelve, before noon, on the memorable 18th June, this dreadful and decisive action commenced, with a cannonade on the part of the French instantly followed by an attack, commanded by Jerome, on the advanced post of Hougomont.

The troops of Nassau, which occupied the wood around the chateau, were driven out by the efforts of the French, but the utmost efforts of the French were unable to force the house, gar-

den, and farm-offices, which a party of the guards sustained with the most dauntless resolution. The French redoubled their efforts, and precipitated themselves in numbers on the exterior hedge, which screens the garden wall, not perhaps aware of the internal defence afforded by the latter. They fell in great numbers on this point by the fire of the defenders, to which they were exposed in every direction. The number of their troops, however, enabled them by possession of the wood to mask Hougoumont for a time, and to push on with their cavalry and artillery against the British right, which formed in squares to receive them. The fire was incessant, but without apparent advantage on either side.

Meantime, the fire of the artillery having become general along the line, the force of the French attack was transferred to the British centre. It was made with the most desperate fury, and received with the most stubborn resolution. The cuirassiers came with the utmost intrepidity along the Gennape causeway, where they were encountered and charged by the English heavy cavalry; and a combat was maintained at the sword's point, till the French were driven back on their own position, where they were protected by their artillery. The four columns of French infantry engaged in the same attack, forced their way beyond the farm of La Haye Sainte, and, dispersing a Belgian regiment, were in the act of establishing themselves in the centre of the British position, when they were attacked by the brigade of general Pach,

brought up from the second line by general Picton, while at the same time, a brigade of British heavy cavalry wheeled round their own infantry, and attacked the French charging columns in flank, at the moment when they were checked by the fire of the musketry. The results were decisive. The French columns were broken with great slaughter, and two eagles, with more than 2000 men, were made prisoners. The latter were sent instantly off for Brussels.

The British cavalry, however, followed their success too far. They got involved amongst the French infantry and some hostile cavalry which were detached to support them, and were obliged to retire with considerable loss. In this part of the action, the gallant general Picton met with his death, as did general Ponsonby, who commanded the cavalry.

Shortly after this period, the French cavalry made a general attack chiefly towards the centre of the British right. They came up with the most dauntless resolution, in despite of the continued fire of thirty pieces of artillery placed in front of the line, and compelled the artillery-men, by whom they were served, to retreat within the squares. At every favorable moment the British artillerymen sallied from their place of refuge, again manned their pieces, and fired on the assailants. The cuirassiers, however, continued their dreadful onset, and rode up to the squares in the full confidence, apparently, of sweeping them before the impetuosity of their charge. Their onset and re-



ception was like a furious ocean pouring itself against a chain of insulated rocks. The British squares stood unmoved, and never gave fire until the cavalry were within ten yards, when men rolled one way, horses galloped another, and the cuirassiers were in every instance driven back.

This was not, however, the fault of the cuirassiers, who displayed an almost frantic valor. They rallied again and again, and returned to the onset, till the British could recognize even the faces of individuals. Some rode close up to the bayonets, fired their pistols, and cut with their swords with reckless and useless valor. Some stood at the gaze, and were destroyed by the musketry and artillery. Some squadrons, passing through the intervals of the first line, charged the squares of Belgians posted there, with as little success. At length the cuirassiers suffered so severely on every hand, that they were compelled to abandon the attempt which they had made with such intrepid and desperate courage. In this unheard of struggle, the greater part of the French heavy cavalry were absolutely destroyed.

In the destruction of this noble body of cuirassiers, Buonaparte lost the corps which might have been most effectual in covering his retreat. After the broken remains of this fine cavalry were drawn off, the French confined themselves for a time to a heavy cannonade, from which the British sheltered themselves in part by lying down on the ground.

It was now about six o'clock, and during this long succession of the most furious attacks, the French

had gained very little success. The British had suffered very severely, but had lost very little ground. Ten thousand men were, however, killed and wounded ; some of the foreign regiments had given way, though others had shown the most desperate valor. And the ranks were thinned, both by the actual fugitives, and by the absence of individuals, who left the bloody field for the purpose of carrying off the wounded, and some of whom might naturally be in no hurry to return to so fatal a scene.

At half-past six the long and anxiously expected Prussian army began to enter into communication with the British left. It now became evident that the Prussians were to enter seriously into the battle, and with great force. Napoleon had still the means of opposing them, and of achieving a retreat, at the certainty, however, of being attacked upon the ensuing day by the combined armies of great Britain and Prussia.

About seven o'clock Napoleon's celebrated guard, which had not yet taken any part in the conflict, were formed in two columns, under his own eye, near the bottom of the declivity of La Belle Alliance. They were put under command of the dauntless Ney. Buonaparte told the soldiers that the Prussians whom they saw on the right were retreating before Grouchy. The guard answered for the last time, with shouts of *vive l'Empereur*, and moved resolutely forward, having for their support battalions of the old guard in reserve, who stood prepared to protect the advance of their comrades. A

gradual change had taken place in the English line of battle, the right, which, at the beginning of the conflict, presented a segment of a convex circle, now resembled one that was concave, the extreme right, which had been thrown back, being now rather brought forward, so that their fire both of artillery and infantry fell upon the flank of the French who had also to sustain that which was poured on their front from the heights. The British were arranged in a line four men deep, to meet the advancing columns of the French guard, and poured upon them a storm of musketry which never ceased an instant. The soldiers fired independently as it is called ; each man loading and discharging his piece as fast as he could. At length the British moved forward, as if to close around the heads of the columns, and at the same time continued to pour their shot upon the enemy's flanks. The French gallantly attempted to deploy, for the purpose of returning the charge. But in their effort to do so, met so dreadful a fire, they stopt, staggered, became disordered, were blended into one mass, and at length gave way, retiring, or rather flying, in the utmost confusion. This was their last effort, and Napoleon gave orders for the retreat ; to protect which, he had now no troops left, save the last four battalions of the old guard, which had been stationed in the rear of the attacking columns. These threw themselves into squares, and stood firm. But at this moment the duke of Wellington commanded the whole British line to advance, so that whatever the skill and bravery of

these gallant veterans, they also were thrown into disorder, in spite of the efforts of Ney, who, having his horse killed, fought sword in hand, and on foot, in the front of the battle, till the very last. The victorious generals met at the farm house of La Belle Alliance, it was agreed that the Prussians, who were fresh in comparison should follow up the chase, a duty for which the British, exhausted by the fatigues of a battle of eight hours, were totally inadequate.

During the whole action, Napoleon maintained the utmost serenity. He remained on the heights of La Belle Alliance, keeping pretty near the centre, from which he had a full view of the field, which does not exceed a mile and a half in length. He expressed no solicitude on the fate of the battle for a long time, noticed the behaviour of particular regiments, and praised the English several times, always, however, talking of them as an assured prey. When forming his guard for the last fatal effort, he descended near them, half down the causeway from La Belle Alliance, to bestow on them what proved his parting exhortation. He watched intently their progress with a spy-glass, and on seeing the attacking columns stagger and become confused, his countenance became pale as that of a corpse, and muttering to himself, "they are mingled together," he said to his attendants, "all is lost for the present," and rode off the field; not stopping or taking refreshment till he reached Charleroi, where he paused for a moment in a meadow, and occupied a tent which had been pitched for his accommodation.



Meantime the pursuit of his discomfitted army was followed up by Blucher, with the most determined perseverance. He accelerated the march of the Prussian advanced guard, and despatched every man and horse of his cavalry upon the pursuit of the French. Their disorder was so irreparable, and their moral courage was so absolutely quelled for the moment, that in many cases they were slaughtered like sheep. One hundred and fifty guns were left in the hands of the English, and a like number taken by the Prussians in the course of the pursuit. The latter obtained possession also of all Napoleon's baggage, and of his carriage, where, amongst many articles of curiosity, was found a proclamation intended to be made public the next day.

The loss on the British side during this dreadful battle was immense. One hundred officers slain, five hundred wounded, fifteen thousand men killed and wounded threw half of Britain into mourning. It required all the glory, and all the solid advantages, of this immortal day, to reconcile the mind to the high price at which it was purchased.

It would be difficult to form a guess at the extent of the French loss. We do not believe, that of 75,000 men, the half were ever again collected under arms.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

*Buonaparte's arrival at Paris—He agrees to abdicate—declaration to the French people, proclaiming Napoleon II. emperor of the French—Buonaparte arrives at Rochefort—arrives at Plymouth—his protest against the violation of his liberty—goes on board the Northumberland.*

Immense as the direct and immediate consequences of the battle of Waterloo certainly were, being the total loss of the campaign, and the entire destruction of Napoleon's fine army, the more remote contingencies to which it gave rise were so much more important, that it may be doubted whether there was ever in the civilized world a great battle followed by so many and such extraordinary results.

That part of the French army which escaped from the battle of Waterloo fled in disorder towards the frontiers of France. The two chambers of France hastily assembled. La Fayette addressed that of the representatives in the character of an old friend of liberty, spoke of the sinister reports that were spread abroad, and invited the members to rally under the tri-colored banner of liberty, equality, and public order, by adopting five resolutions. The first declared that the independence of the nation was menaced. The second declared the sittings of the chambers permanent, and denounced the pains of treason against whomsoever should at-

tempt to dissolve them. The third announced that the troops had deserved well of their country. The fourth called out the national guard. The fifth invited the ministers to repair to the assembly.

When Buonaparte returned to Paris, his first interview was with Carnot, of whom he demanded an instant supply of treasure, and a levy of 300,000 men. The minister replied, that he could have neither the one nor the other.

On the morning of the 22d June, the chamber of representatives met at nine in the morning, and expressed the utmost impatience to receive the act of abdication. The emperor at length consented, and wrote in the following words:

“Frenchmen!—In commencing war for maintaining the national independence, I relied on the union of all efforts, of all wills, and the concurrence of all the national authorities. I had reason to hope for success, and I braved all the declarations of the powers against me.

“Circumstances appear to me changed. I offer myself as a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France. May they prove sincere in their declarations, and have really directed them only against my power! My political life is terminated, and I proclaim my son under the title Napoleon II., emperor of the French.

“The present ministers will provisionally form the council of the government. The interest which I take in my son induces me to invite the chambers to form without delay the regency by a law.

“Unite all for the public safety, in order to remain an independent nation.

(Signed)

“NAPOLEON.”

*Palace of the Elysium, }*

*June the 22d, 1815.” }*

Whilst the chamber of deputies continued to discuss a number of questions, without coming to any specific conclusions, Fouché began to be uneasy at Napoleon's residence being so near them in the Elyseum. On the 25th at noon, Napoleon set off for Malmaison, where he was received by the princess Hortensia. On the 29th he left Malmaison, and arrived at Rochefort on the 3d of July.

On the 2d of July, a council having been called to decide peremptorily upon the defence or surrender of Paris, it was agreed, unanimously to deliver it into the hands of the allies. The following note was sent to the council by the allies: “The three powers considered it as an essential condition of peace and real tranquility, that Napoleon Buonaparte shall be incapable of disturbing the repose of France and of Europe for the future ; and in consequence of the events that occurred in the month of May last, the powers must insist that Napoleon Buonaparte be placed in their custody.”

The news of the defeat at Waterloo had been the signal to the admiralty to cover the western coast of France with cruisers, in order to prevent the possibility of Napoleons' escaping by sea from any of the ports in that direction. No less than thirty ships of different descriptions maintained this blockade. The British line-of-battle ship, the Bellerophon, cruised off Rochefort.



On the 14th of July, general Baron Gourgaud was sent on board that ship, with a letter addressed to the Prince Regent, as follows :

*“Rochefort, July 13th, 1815.*

“YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,

“A victim to the factions which distract my country, and to the enmity of the greatest powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career, and I come like Themistocles, to throw myself on the hospitality of the British people. I put myself under the protection of your laws ; which I claim from your royal highness, as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.

“NAPOLEON.”

On the 15th July, Napoleon finally left France in the brig l'Epervier, and was received on board the Bellerophon with the honors due to his rank. On the 16th the Bellerophon set sail for England. During the whole passage Buonaparte seemed tranquil, and in good humor. On the 23d they passed Usbaut. On the 26th the vessel received orders to move round to Plymouth sound.

When arrived at Plymouth, he was not permitted to land, but was soon informed that the allied powers had decided that he should be treated as a prisoner of war and be confined at St. Helena. On the 26th Napoleon sailed to Plymouth, preparatory to his embarkation on board the Northumberland, commanded by admiral Cockburn, destined to sail to St. Helena, from which vessel he despatched the following protest to lord Heith :

“I solemnly protest, in the face of Heaven and of all men, against the violation of every sacred right towards me. I voluntarily delivered myself up to the *Bellerophon* : I am therefore no prisoner, but the guest of England.

“If this order is to be put into effect, in vain will the English, henceforth, proclaim their integrity, their laws, and their liberty to Europe.

“I appeal, therefore to history, which will record that an enemy, who, for twenty years, made war upon the British nation, came freely, in his misfortune, to demand an asylum under the safe guard of their laws. What proof more striking could be given of his esteem and confidence? But in what manner have the English replied?—They tendered the hand of hospitality to that enemy; and, when he delivered up himself they sacrificed him!!!

“*On board the Bellerophon* } (signed)  
*at sea, 4th August, 1815.* } “NAPOLEON.”

On the 4th of August, the *Bellerophon*, sailed from Torbay, to meet the *Northumberland* off Berry-head.

About 7 o'clock on the morning of the 7th August lord Heith came in his barge to transfer Napoleon from the *Bellerophon* to the *Northumberland*. About 1 o'clock, when Buonaparte had announced that he was in full readiness, a captain's guard was turned out; lord Heith's barge was prepared; and as Napoleon crossed the quarter-deck, the soldiers presented arms, under three ruffles of the drum, being the salute paid to a general officer. His step

was firm and steady ; his farewell to captain Maitland polite and friendly.

Napoleon was received on board the Northumberland with the same honors paid at leaving the Bellerophon. Sir George Cockburn, the British admiral to whose charge the late emperor was now committed, was in every respect a person highly qualified to discharge the task with delicacy towards Napoleon, yet with fidelity to the instructions he had received.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

*Napoleon's behaviour on the voyage—his arrival—description of Buonaparte's residence at Longwood—Napoleon's domestic habits—manner in which he spent the day—removal of Las Cases from his household—Buonaparte's constitution—symptoms of his illness increase—his refusal to take exercise or medicines—removal of Dr. O'Meara.*

THERE remained with Buonaparte, count Bertrand, his wife, and three children; the count and countess Montholon, count Las Cases, and general Gordaud, with nine men and three woman servants. The remainder of his suite were put on board the Eurotes frigate.

Whilst Napoleon was on board the Northumberland, it was observed, he stamped the usual impression on every one there, as elsewhere, of his being an extraordinary man. Nothing escaped his notice; his eyes were in every place, and on every object, from the greatest to the most minute. He spent his mornings in writing or reading; his evenings in his exercise upon deck, and at cards. The game was generally *vingt un*. But when the play was rather deep, he discouraged that amusement, and substituted chess. Great tactician as he was, Napoleon did not play well at that military game, and it was with difficulty that his antagonist, Mon-



tholon, could avoid the solecism of beating the emperor.

About seventy days after the Northumberland's departure from England, she reached St. Helena, which presents but an unpromising aspect to those who design it for a residence, though it may be a welcome sight to the sea-worn mariner. Its destined inhabitant, from the deck of the Northumberland, surveyed it with his spy-glass. Las Cases, who stood by him, could not perceive the slightest alteration of his countenance.

The 16th of October 1815, terminated the voyage to St. Helena. After dining on board the Northumberland, the emperor accompanied by the grand marshal, Bertrand, got into a boat to go on shore.

Thus, in the course of a few weeks, the emperor of the west, the dispenser of crowns, and sceptres, found himself immured for life in a small volcanic island, measuring ten miles in length and seven in breadth, at a distance of six thousand miles from the scenes of his immortal exploits in arms, and separated from the two great continents of Africa and America by unfathomable seas.

A few minutes after his arrival, he went up stairs to his chamber, where his followers were called to attend him, his situation here was no better than it had been on board the vessel. They found themselves lodged in a sort of inn or hotel.

At six in the morning, the day after, the emperor, the grand marshal, and the admiral, rode to visit Longwood, the house chosen for Napoleon's residence. A small pavillion or summer-house at-

tached to the place pleased him, and admiral Cockburn thought he would be more agreeably situated there than in the town. The pavillion which Napoleon had chosen, was about 30 or 40 paces from Mr. Balcombe's dwelling house, called *the Briars*. In no situation of his past life had the emperor been so wretchedly lodged. The windows had neither glasses nor shutters, and there was scarcely a seat in the room. Las Cases's bed-room, above his, was about 7 feet square ; there was in it only a bed and a single chair. Such was the situation of the emperor the first night he spent at the Briars.

At first, Napoleon's dinner was sent him, ready cooked, from James town, about a mile and a half distant ; but afterwards Mr. Balcombe found means to get a kitchen fixed up for his house.

He frequently watched, for hours, in the shady paths and shrubbies of the Briars, where care was taken to prevent his being intruded upon. During one of the walks, he stopped, and pointed out to an englishman the frightful precipices which environed them, and said, "behold your country's generosity ! this is their liberality to the unfortunate man, who, blindly relying on what he so falsely imagined to be their national character, in an evil hour, unsuspectingly confided himself to them."

On the 9th December, Napoleon and part of his household ; the count and countess of Montholon and their children ; the count Las Cases and his son, general Gourgaud, doctor O'Meara, who had been received as his medical attendant, removed to Longwood. Notwithstanding that every effort was

made to render Longwood-house as commodious as time and means would permit, yet his situation was far from being a pleasant one. His bed-room was about fourteen feet by twelve and ten or eleven feet in height. The walls were lined with brown nankeen, bordered and edged with common green bordering paper, and destitute of surbase. Two small windows without pulleys, were fastened by a piece of notched wood. There were window-curtains of white long-cloth, a small fire-place, a shabby grate, and fire-irons to match, with a paltry mantel-piece of wood, painted white, upon which stood a small marble bust of his son. Above the mantel-piece hung the portrait of Maria Louisa, and four or five of young Napoleon, one of which was embroidered by the hands of his mother. A little more to the right hung also a miniature picture of the empress Josephine ; and to the left was suspended the alarm chamber-watch of Frederick the great. The floor was covered with a second-hand carpet. In the right hand corner was placed the little, plain, iron-camp bedstead, upon which its master had reposed on the fields of Marengo and Austerlitz. Four or five cane-bottomed chairs painted green, were standing here and there about the room. An old-fashioned sofa, covered with large white cloth, upon which Napoleon reclined, clothed in his white morning-gown, white loose trowsers and stockings all in one ; a chequered madras upon his head, and his shirt collar open, without a cravat. His air was melancholy and troubled. Of all the former magnificence of the

once mighty emperor of France, nothing was present except a superb washing stand, containing a silver basin, and a water jug of the same metal, in the left-hand corner.

Around Longwood lay the largest extent of open ground in the neighbourhood, fit for exercise either upon horseback or on foot. A space of twelve miles in circumference was traced off, within which Napoleon might take exercise without being attended by any one. A chain of sentinels surrounded this domain to prevent his passing, unless accompanied by a British officer. If he inclined to extend his excursions, he might go to any part of the island, providing the officer was in attendance, and near enough to observe his motions. Such an orderly officer was always in readiness to attend him when required.

The old poet has said that "every island is a prison," but, in point of difficulty of escape, there is none which can compare with St. Helena. "A subaltern's guard" says Dr. O'Meara, "was posted at the entrance of Longwood, about six hundred paces from the house, and a cordon of sentinels and picquets was placed round the limits. At 9 o'clock the sentinels were drawn in and stationed in communication with each other, surrounding the house in such positions, that no person could come in, nor go out, without being scrutinised by them. At the entrance of the house double sentinels were placed, and patrols were continually passing backward and forward. After nine, Napoleon was not at liberty to leave the house, unless in company with a field-



officer, and no person whatever was allowed to pass without the countersign. This state of affairs continued until day-light in the morning. Every landing-place in the island, and, indeed, every place which presented the semblance of one, was furnished with a picquet, and sentinels were even placed upon every great path leading to the sea. Another regulation was that Buonaparte should be visible, at least once every day, to an orderly British officer.

The instructions, which the new governor sir Hudson Lowe received from the British government on the subject of the custody of the ex-emperor, were as follows:

*“ Downing street, 12th September, 1816.*

*“ You will observe that the desire of his Majesty’s government is to allow every indulgence to general Buonaparte which may be compatible with the entire security of his person. That he should not by any means escape, or hold communication with any person whatever, excepting through your agency, must be your unremitted care; and those points being made sure, every recourse and amusement, which may serve to reconcile Buonaparte to his confinement, may be permitted.”*

Napoleon’s life, until his health began to give way, was of the most regular and monotonous character. Having become a very indifferent sleeper, perhaps from custom of assigning during the active part of his life no precise time for repose, his hours for retiring were uncertain, depending upon the quantum of rest which he had enjoyed during the earlier part of the night. It followed from this ir-

regularity, that during the day time he occasionally fell asleep, for a few minutes, upon his couch or arm chair. At times his favorite valet-de-chambre, Marchand, read to him while in bed until he was composed to rest, the best remedy perhaps, for that course of "thick-coming fancies," which must so oft have disturbed the repose of one in circumstances, so singular and so melancholy. So soon as Napoleon arose from bed, he either began to dictate to one of his generals, and placed upon record such passages of his remarkable life as he desired to preserve; or, if the weather and his inclinations suited, he went out for an hour or two on horseback. The fore part of the day he usually devoted to reading, or dictating to one or the other of his suite, and about two or three o'clock received such visitors as had permission to wait upon him. An airing in the carriage or on horseback usually succeeded this species of levee, on which occasions he was attended by all his suite. On returning from his airings, he again resumed his book, or caused his amanuensis take up the pen until dinner time, which was about eight o'clock at night. He preferred plain food, and eat plentifully, and with an apparent appetite. A very few glasses of claret, scarce amounting to a pint English in all, and chiefly drank during dinner, completed his meal. He never took more than two meals a day, and concluded each with a small cup of coffee. After dinner, chess, cards, reading aloud for the benefit of his suite, or general conversation, served to consume the evening till ten or eleven, about

which time he retired to his apartment, and went immediately to bed.

In November 1816, Napoleon sustained a loss to which he must have been not a little sensible, in the removal of count Las Cases from his society. Count Las Cases had been tempted into a line of conduct inconsistent with the engagement he had come under with the other attendants of the emperor, not to hold secret communication beyond the verge of the island. The opportunity of a servant of his own returning to England, induced him to confide to the domestic's charge a letter, written upon a piece of white silk, that it might be the more readily concealed, which was stitched into the lad's clothes. It was addressed to prince Lucien Buonaparte. As this was a direct transgression, in a most material point, of the conditions which Las Cases had promised to observe, he was dismissed from the island and sent to the cape of Good Hope, and from thence to Europe. Unquestionably, the separation from the devoted follower added greatly to the disconsolate situation of the exile of Longwood. The bearer of the letter, it is supposed, confided the affair to his mother, who could not conceal it from her husband, by which publicity it came to the ears of sir Hudson Lowe, who issued his orders accordingly.

In the autumn of 1817, Buonaparte had a smart attack of fever, &c., and was several days obliged to retire occasionally to his bed.

With regard to his health, Las Cases says—"Contrary to the common opinion, in which I myself

once participated, the emperor is far from possessing a strong constitution. His body is subject to the slightest accidents. The smell of paint is sufficient to make him ill ; certain dishes, or the slightest degree of damp, immediately take a very severe effect upon him. His body is far from being a body of iron as was supposed : his strength is all in his mind."

About the 25th of September 1818, Napoleon's health seems to have been seriously affected. He complained much of nausea, his legs swelled, and there were other unfavorable symptoms, which induced his physician to tell him, that he was of a temperament which required much activity ; that constant exertion of mind and body was indispensable ; and that without exercise he must soon lose his health. He immediately declared, that while exposed to the challenge of sentinels, he never would take exercise, however necessary. Dr. O'Meara replied, that, if the disease should not be encountered by remedies in due time, it would terminate fatally, his reply was remarkable. "I will have at least the consolation that my death will be an eternal dishonor to the English nation, who sent me to this climate to die under the hands of \*\*\*\*." The physician again represented, that by neglecting to take medicine, he would accelerate his own death. "That which is written is written," said Napoleon, looking up "our days are reckoned."

The next important incident, in the monotony of Napoleon's life, was the removal of Dr. O'Meara. It seems that Dr. O'Meara growing perhaps too intimate with the prisoner, became unwilling to



supply the governor with information respecting Napoleon, a quarrel took place between him and sir Hudson Lowe.

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## CHAPTER XXXIV.

*Two roman catholic priests sent to St. Helena at his desire—Dr. Antomarchi arrives to supply the place of O'Meara—Napoleon's disease increases—Napoleon consents to admit the visits of Dr. Arnott—extreme unction administered to Napoleon—HIS DEATH—anatomisation of the body—his interment.*

ABOUT this time Napoleon signified a desire to have the company of a catholic priest. Accordingly his holiness despatched two to St. Helena instead of one. The missionaries were received at St. Helena with civility, and the rites of mass were occasionally performed at Longwood.

The same vessel which arrived at St. Helena on the 18th September, in 1818, with these physicians brought with them Dr. Antomarchi, anatomic professor to the hospital of St. Marie Neuve, at Florence, attached to the university of Pisa, who was designed to supply the place about the exile's person, occupied by Dr. O'Meara, and after him provisionally by Dr. Stokoe. He continued to hold the office till Napoleon's death, and his account of his last moments is useful and entertaining, as relating to the last days of so extraordinary a person.

At times he lamented his decay of energy. The bed, he said, was now a place of luxury, which he would not exchange for all the thrones in the universe. The eyes which formerly were so vigilant, could now scarcely be opened. He recollected that he used to dictate to four or five secretaries at once. "But then," said he "I was Napoleon—now I am no longer any thing—my strength, my faculties, forsake me—I no longer live, I only exist." Often he remained silent for many hours, suffering as may be supposed, much pain, and immured in profound melancholy.

About the 22d January 1821, Napoleon appeared to resume some energy, and to conquer his disease by exercise. He mounted his horse, and galloped for the last time, five or six miles around the limits of Longwood, but nature was overcome by the effort. He complained that his strength was sinking under him rapidly.

Towards the end of February the disease assumed a character still more formidable, and Dr. Antomarchi became desirous of obtaining a consultation with some of the English medical men. The emperor, at length, consented that Dr. Antomarchi should consult with Dr. Arnott, surgeon of the 20th regiment. But the united opinion of the medical gentlemen could not overcome the aversion of Napoleon to medicine, or shake the belief which he reposed in the gloomy doctrines of fatalism. "All that is to happen is written down."

Dr. Arnott saw him the first time on the 1st April 1821, and continued his visits regularly. Napoleon

expressed his opinion that his liver was affected. Dr. Arnott's observations led him to think though the action of the liver might be imperfect, the seat of the disease was to be looked for elsewhere.

From the 15th to the 25th of April, Napoleon was engaged from time to time in making his testamentary bequests.

As the strength of the patient gradually sunk, the symptoms of his disease became less equivocal, until, on the 27th of April, the ejection of a dark-coloured fluid gave farther insight into the nature of the malady. Upon the 28th of April, Napoleon gave instructions to Antomarchi, that after his death his body should be opened, but that no English medical man should touch him unless assistance being absolutely necessary, in which case he gave Antomarchi leave to call that of Dr. Arnott. He directed that his heart should be conveyed to Parma, to Maria Louisa ; and requested anxiously that his stomach should be particularly examined, and the report transmitted to his son.

During the 3d of May, it was seen that the life of Napoleon, was drawing evidently to a close. And on that day the priest Vignali administered the sacrament of extreme unction. Some days before, Napoleon had explained to him the manner in which he desired his body should be laid out in state, in an apartment lighted by torches, or what catholics call *un chambre ardente*. "I am neither," he said, "a philosopher nor a physician. I believe in God, and am of the religion of my father.

It is not every body who can be an atheist. I was born a catholic, and will fulfil all the duties of the catholic church, and receive the assistance which it administers."

As if to mark a closing point of resemblance betwixt Cromwell and Napoleon, a dreadful tempest arose on the 4th of May, which preceded the day that was to close the mortal existence of this extraordinary man. A willow, which had been the exile's favorite, and under which he had often enjoyed the fresh breeze, was torn up by the hurricane; and almost all the trees about Longwood shared the same fate.

The 5th of May came amid wind and rain. Napoleon's passing spirit was deliriously engaged in a strife more terrible than that of the elements around. The words "tête d'armée," were the last words which escaped his lips, and intimated that his thoughts were watching the current of a heavy fight. About eleven minutes before six in the evening, Napoleon, after a struggle which indicated the original strength of his constitution, breathed his last.

The officers of Napoleon's household were disposed to have the body anatomized in secret. But sir Hudson Lowe, aware of the responsibility under which he and his country stood, declared, that even if he were reduced to make use of force, he would make sure the presence of English physicians at the dissection.

Drs. Thomas Short, Archbald Arnott, Charles Mitchel, Mathew Livingston, and Francis Burton, with others, were present. The cause of his death



was sufficiently evident. A large ulcer occupied almost the whole of the stomach. It was only the strong adhesion of the diseased parts of that organ to the concave surface of the lobe of the liver, which being over the ulcer, had prolonged the patient's life by preventing the escape of the contents of the stomach into the cavity of the abdomen. All the other parts of the viscera were found in a tolerably healthy state. The report was signed by the British medical gentlemen present.

The gentlemen of Napoleon's suite were desirous that his heart should be preserved and given to their custody. But sir Hudson Lowe did not feel himself at liberty to permit this upon his own authority. He agreed, however, that the heart should be put in a silver vase, filled with spirits, and interred along with the body.

It was Napoleon's wish that his remains should be conveyed to Europe, but this was not permitted. The body, after lying in state in his small bed-room, during which time it was visited by every person of condition in the island, was on the 8th of May carried to the place of interment, in a beautiful valley, under the pendant branches of several flourishing weeping willows, near his favorite spring, in a spot of his own choosing. The pall which covered the coffin was the military cloak which Napoleon had worn at the battle of Marengo. The members of his late household attended as mourners, and were followed by the governor, the admiral, and all the civil and military authorities of the island. All the troops were under arms upon the

solemn occasion. As the road did not permit a near approach of the hearse to the place of sepulture, a party of British grenadiers had the honor to bear the coffin to the grave. The prayers were recited by the priest Abbe Vignali. Minute guns were fired from the admiral's ship. The coffin was then let down into the grave, under a discharge of three successive volleys of artillery, fifteen pieces of cannon firing fifteen guns each. A large stone was then lowered down on the grave, and covered the moderate space now sufficient for the man for whom Europe was once too little.

Having arrived at the conclusion of this brief, but momentous narrative, the mind cannot help being struck with the character of that wonderful person on whom fortune showered so many favors in the beginning and through the middle of his career, to make its close with such deep and unwonted afflictions.

The external appearance of Napoleon was not imposing at the first glance, his stature being only five feet six inches English. His person, thin in youth, but somewhat corpulent in age, was rather delicate than robust in outward appearance, but cast in the mould most capable of enduring privation and fatigue. The countenance of Napoleon is familiar to almost every one from description, and the portraits which are found every where. His smile possessed uncommon sweetness, and is stated to have been irresistible.

His personal and private character was decidedly amiable. He was an excellent husband, a kind

relation, and unless when state policy intervened, a most affectionate brother. Never was master so loved and adored, even by his followers and attendants, whose sufferings, on his own account were nearly equal to his own. Never did any monarch attract so many friends, known and unknown, and who would willingly have shed their blood for his sake, and never was a man a more liberal rewarder of the attachment of his friends.

But his greatness was obscured by his ambition, and his love of absolute power. He owned "he had been a spoiled child of fortune." From his entrance into life, he had been accustomed to command, and circumstances and the force of his own character were such, that as soon as he became possessed of power he acknowledged no master, and obeyed no laws except those of his own creation.

Repeated victories could not satisfy his insatiable appetite for glory. He never foresaw any reverses, or, if he did, he never made any provision against them. He depended too much upon his "high destinies" and tributary kings; he expected too much from his newly created marshals. These kings felt themselves as only instruments in his hands; and the marshals saw no end to his arduous campaigns. Cradled in the camp, however, he was the darling of the army to the last hour.

But he is no more; and in bidding adieu to the subject of Napoleon, we are called upon to observe that he was a man tried in the two extremities of the most exalted power and the most ineffable calamity; and if he occasionally appeared presump-

tuous when surrounded by the armed force of half a world, or unreasonably querulous when imprisoned within the narrow limits of St. Helena, it is scarce within the capacity of those whose steps have never led them beyond the middle path of life to estimate either the strength of the temptations to which he yielded, or the force of mind which he opposed to those which he was able to resist.

THE END.



















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